

Moffett

Nanking, China - 1950

Saturday - 5 p.m. meeting. Miss Quian's home.

(2)

FAITH - its object.

Faith - its nature:

1) belief.

2) trust.

Imp. of Siquésy - not enough to live. "No diff what you believe." Huxleys.

Ill. - Benny Pan.

(1)

Theology

1) Its meaning.

1. Purpose - to explain the faith. 2) Its significance.

a) Not prove it - that is apologetics.

b) Not present what ought to believe - that is homiletic.

c) Not to witness & win - that is evangelism.

2. Its nature: -

a) Theocentric - a unit re God. Not loose bundle of doctrines.

b) Christocentric -

c) Biblical - } not a search for truth (e.g. science), but
an explanation of truth already given.

3. Rel. to Philosophy of Religion - looks at Xty from inside, not outside.

e.g. 19th - idealism

20th c. - materialism?

4. Rel. to Psych. & Rel. - objective, as well as subjective.

Dr. Hendry - Princeton

GNOSTICISM

First example in Western World of the philosophy of estrangement (radical dualism).

Hans Jonas traces affinities betw. Gnosticism + existentialism of Heidegger.

cf. estrangement in W. world of 17th c. with destruction of Ptolemaic universe - Pascal. "The silence of these infinite spaces terrifies me."

Origin - Iran thought but in a result of Alex. world. Completely contrary to Greek thought, which is philosophy of a man at home in the world. \therefore logos ϕ - universe gives answers. The world is good (to Greeks) - bad (to Persian Gnostics).

Radical dualism -

Radical dualism - God is good; world is evil. \therefore Creation not direct, but by emanation "progressive depotentialization" of ~~creation~~ the divine. "The voltage is reduced".

Besides - no fewer than 365 intermediate steps betw. God and the world

Gnostic theory of redemption: the sending of the man from heaven, who preserved his spirituality unattenuated. (as Christianized, it was docetic, denying his true humanity). His function was not to redeem the world of matter (which is irredeemable) but to reveal the radical antithesis between God and the world (spirit + matter).

Salvation - by Gnosis (or knowledge). This frees man's soul from bondage of matter, enables ascent into world of pure spirituality.

Gnosis was supplemented by rites and ceremonies (some resemble the Sacraments)

" " also supplemented by an ethics - a contempt of the body in either of two forms - (1) ascetic denial of body, or (2) extreme libertinism, since nothing that happens in the body can affect the spirit.

Predestination: Some sparks of the spirit were left in process of emanation. These

lodged in certain men - the Pneumatics (the Spirituals) Only these were capable of salvation. The Psychics (~~Psychics~~ or Helics) were doomed to perish.

Gnosticism infiltrated the Church. The importance of the movement lies in the questions it caused the Chh to face. How far is the gospel susceptible to be shaped to fit contemporary thought - or does it have a fixed shape of its own, demanding it be set in its own framework.

Providential that the Chh possessed a Theologian of creative genius to meet the challenge.

MARCION (often grouped with Gnostics).

Gnostics were speculative (Theosophical); Marcion was practical + evangelized layman, shipowner, deep personal piety, a witness & outspoken.

Crisis - 144 AD - when M. engaged in disputation with presbyters on Scripture passages.

Lk. 5:36 (new patch, new wine); Lk. 6:43. Presbyters excommunicate him for heretical interpretation.

Basic view: radical antithesis betw. God of Gospel + the Jewish law (N.T. + O.T.).

Marcion was a Paulist, a radical reformer, purging Chh of Judaistic corruptions.

Marcion's Antitheses - "O miracle above all miracles,..." first publ. by Harnack, in 1929 - Barth promptly accused of being "Marcion redivivus".

Rejects Judaism - O.T. denied, expurgated N.T. of all but Luke + Paul.

Denies cruel OT God of war & blood and justice. But does not deny the reality of OT God - identifies him with Gnostic Demiurge.

Calls OT God "the known God", but the Supreme God, "the unknown God", not known by creation, but only by Revelation.

Marcion (2)

Christology - Christ "designed to emanate" - was not born. Docetic. Appeared suddenly in Capernaum.

Ascetic discipline. Obligation to celibacy.

Polycarp "Marcion was the first-born of Satan." Vigorous counter-attack.

Survived as late as 7th c. Its strength - pointed out danger of fitting gospel into legalistic framework. (Thus, was something like Luther, discerning "gospel" as opposed to law).

Thomas Aquinas

History - 337
May - 516

(1)

Intro: Yesterday (Nov. 15) - feast day of Albertus Magnus; Today we study his great pupil, Thomas.

I. The Age

Born in 1225, the great golden age of Roman Catholicism:

- 1) The great age of the ^(Cherbourg + Salisbury) cathedrals and the crusades; the universities + the inquisition.
- 2) The great age of the papacy - when
 - a) a Pope like Innocent III could humiliate the Kg. of France by forcing him to take back a divorced wife he had just ~~divorced~~ hated.
 - ② humiliate the Kg. of Spain by forcing him to divorce a wife he loved.
 - ③ could take England away from its Kg. + give it back to him as a papal fief, with 1000 marks annual tribute money.
 - b) Above all the age when the papacy finally humbled + virtually destroyed its ally and great rival, the Holy Roman Empire.
- 3) The great age of medieval theology, when the thinkers of the Church who had built ~~the~~ towers of that, like their cathedrals, on ~~the~~ what seemed to be solid foundations of Platonic idealism - when the foundations cracked under the impact of Aristotelianism + Arabian science - were able to transfer the towers virtually intact to new and, ^{apparently} solid philosophical foundations.

This was the age of the 13th c. - the great Catholic century - and a civilization built up, dominated and finally destroyed by the Church.

II. The Man

1. Thomas of Aquino, ^① was born in 1225, 10 yrs. after the signing of the Magna Carta.

② he died in 1274, 2 yrs. after the last crusade.

2. He was born right in the middle of the great contest that rocked Europe:

a. His father was Landolf, the ~~great~~ bold Norman Count of Aquino, a little village half way between Rome + Naples. He was a cousin of the Emperor, and his earliest memories must have been of his father's raids on behalf of the Emp. against the Pope, when Pope + Emperor were fighting for Southern Italy.

b. When he was three, his father captured + sacked the great Bened. monastery of Monte Cassino.

c. But when he was 5, an event occurred which changed Thomas' life. His father suddenly + ten piously changed sides - + decided that politics, not war, was the best way to win perm. control of the rich monastery. So he sent his 7th son, T., 5 yrs. old, to enter the abbey as a oblate monk, with every expect. that so nobly born a youth would quickly rise to Abbot. So Thomas grew up to fight with pen for Pope, not with sword for Emperor like his brothers.

3. 1239, when 14, his cousin the Emp. again captured Monte Cassino, expelled the monks, and Thomas was sent home, to enter the Univ. of Naples, which the Emperor had just founded. Naples 1239-1244 - perhaps back to Emperor's side.

4. 1244, nineteen yrs. old, suddenly walks into his family's castle & announces that he is going to join the Dominican Order - and his family flew at him like wild beasts.

To be a monk & perhaps Abbot - all right, respectable: but a begging Dominican Friar! As if the son & heir of a King Duke airily informs his family he's joining the courtiers (GKE) Indic. diff. between old (Bened.) & new (Dom.) monasticism - + how ^{simple} ~~complex~~ revolution ~~was~~ ^{became} respectable + some way of new revolution ~~was~~ ^{became} their ~~revolutionary~~ character. Friars in 13th = Monks in 6th.

Well as I said, family flew at him, & when he left home on foot for Paris, brothers ambushed him, locked him up in the tower as a lunatic. 1 yr. Tempt with prostitutes?

That is last dramatic incident in life of Thomas. Hagiographers invent others - levitation (if true, greatest miracle of middle ages).

5. The next year, at 20, he enrolled in Cologne & Paris as the pupil & assistant of Albertus Magnus, greatest scientist & p of his time. ~~He spent the rest of his life~~ He spent the rest of his life teaching, studying, & writing great volumes of books.

6. a) A great hupe, hulk of a man, "a walking wine-barrel" - crescent cut out of dinner table to accommodate him.

b) Shy & reserved, not talkative: "the Dumb Ox of Sicily". Fellow students at first took pity on him as backward. One kept helping him with his lessons, going over the elements of logic, & each time was the kid with pathetic politeness, until one day he came to a passage he couldn't explain, whereupon the Dumb Ox, much embarrassed, pointed out a possible solution which happened to be right.

c) Albert, his teacher, saw far quicker than his fellows, the great brain behind the slow body. "You call him a Dumb Ox; I tell you this Dumb Ox shall bellow so loud his bellows will fill the whole world." And Th., asked what he was most thankful for, "That I have never read a page which I was not able to understand."

d. But more than an intellect - a saint. Vision - Xt. of the Crucifix asks, "What will I have?" Th. answers quietly, "I will have thyself."

III. The Theology - 34 volumes complete works. Greatest Summa Theologiae

~~1) Purpose - to take new Aristot. science & logic, twist it for use vs. Theology, into a foundation for the Church.~~

2. His conclusions were completely medieval:

- 1) Never denied a simple establ. Cath. dogma
- 2) Helped to lay doctrinal position for inquisition.
- 3) For all of Christianity, most. on free will - predestinarian + reprobation as Calvin.
- 4) Even helped to build the doctrine of indulgences, which was later to explode so devastatingly.
- 5) Sacraments - wholeheartedly defended transubstantiation; + wrote office of Corpus Christi.

3. But there is something quite modern in his method + attitude: -

1) Purpose - modernist. To take new, shattering Arist. science + logic + twist it from use vs. Chh. to shield in defense of church. His great achievement was transferring theology from Platonic to Aristot. foundations without destroying it. A modern parallel: liberalism's attempt to reinterpret Xty in the light of Darwinism without destroying it. And Thomas aroused as much opposition from Platonic Augustinians in his day, as any evolutionary modernist has from fundamentalists. His teach'g was declared heretical 3 yrs. after he died. 50 yrs. later he was canonized; 1880 patron of all Cath. schools; 1923 - Pope Pius XI declared the primacy of Aquinas for the theology.

2) Method - modern, scientific, ~~empirical~~ logical.

a) Natural reason

Like Agnostics - follows reason as far as it will go - but unlike Agnost. - the Chh goes further, by faith.

Starting pt: - "Everything that is in the intellect has been in the senses."

Here breaks with Platonists - mind lit from within.

Holds with Aristotle - mind has 5 windows.

∴ Thomas begins with facts, not truths (like Plato).

From sense data builds to knowledge of existence + goodness of God.

Ill: Christian - Thomist begins with something like the taste of an apple - afterwards deduces a divine life for the intellect; while the Mystic exhausts the intellect first + says finally that the sense of God is something like the taste of an apple (p. 58).

b) Faith - not all can be known by logic + natural reason, e.g. Trinity.

Such truths rest on revelation + authority.

This even more important than (a), for it gives man a knowledge he would not otherwise possess.

c) But reason + faith are not contradictory, but mutually supporting - and both are from the source of all truth, God. So even faith must be reasonable.

Ill. Scripture - ① Scripture often far from self-evident.

② We must ∴ interpret it in light of other truths.

③ If literal interp. is really + flatly contradicted by obvious facts - then lit. interp. must be false interp.

④ But the fact must be an obvious fact. "Unfortunately, 19th c. scientists were just as ready to jump to conclusion that any claim about nature was an obvious fact, as were 17th theologians to jump to the conclusion that any guess about Script. was the obvious explanation" (GRC - p. 69)

Aquinas vs. the Manichees

At the glittering French court of St. Louis, fat Dominican suddenly bangs table, cries "And that will settle the Manichees. Louis, unoffended, sends secretaries to take tablets to the absent-minded controversialist + note the argument, lest he later forget it.

The main purpose of his life - to settle the Manichees.

"Religion would have maddened men, Theology kept them sane." p. 88.

His work of introducing Aristotle - supports a solid + objective ϕ .

1) People trusted T's orthodoxy, + swallowed their fear that A was unorthodox.

2) T begins with facts, not truths - with facts + sensations of material world. His motive - humility.

3. The resurrection taught a new respect for matter.

The Real Life of Thomas

"A walking wine-barrel". A crescent cut out of dinner table to allow him to sit down (?).

Head - heavy chin + jaws, Roman nose, big bald brow - like Napoleon, Mussolini, Count Fosco.

When not reading, he walked fast + furiously round + round the cloisters.

Once or twice indulged in denunciations - never in a sneer; an intellectual aristocrat, not an intellectual snob.

Tremendous correspondence - everybody asked him questions, e.g. are the names of all the blessed written on a scroll in heaven? T, patiently, "So far as I can see, this is not the case; but there is no harm in saying so."

A mystic - but shy about it. Did he see St. Paul in a vision? T. in an agony of alarm lest it should be discussed. Last vision - stops writing. "I have seen things which make all my writings like straw."

Passion for the poor - at 6 parents objected mildly to his habit of going to beggars + tramps.

Story - voice from the Crucifix "Thomas, thou hast written well concerning the sacrament of My Body. What wilt thou have?" "I will have Thyself."

He dies - 1274 - on way to Council of Lyons. On deathbed, momentary, unromantic, asked to have King of Solomon need them to his poor keep to end. And the confessor of the intellect that shook the world, ran forth as if in fear + whopied that his confessor had been that of a child of 5.

The Philosophy of Agrippa. "Unlike Kant + Hegelians, he has a faith that is not merely a doubt about doubt." p. 149

Ag. like Huxley in his adoption of the Agnostic method: to follow reason as far as it will go.

Slightly modern + materialist: "Everything that is in the intellect has been in the senses."

(Platonist (or neo-Pl) - the mind is lit from within

Agrippa - lit by 5 windows. But he studies what is within (Man) not mushrooms.

1. Starting pt. - Ens - there is an Is; i.e. something is something.

There instantly enters with the idea of affirmation, the idea of contradiction. } actuality or certainty: there is
a yes + a no. Not both at once.

∴ A thing cannot be and not be.

AQUINAS

Thomas studies under Albertus Magnus -

Albertus moves from logic to inquiry - ill: unicorn.

Thomas called the Dumb Ox - but surprises a fellow student.

Albertus attacks Univ. - "You call him a Dumb Ox; I tell you this Dumb Ox shall bellow so loud that his bellows will fill the world."

Diff. between Mystic (Franciscan) & Dominican (rationalist): "The Dominican begins with something ^{solid} like the taste of an apple, and afterwards deduces a divine life for the intellect; while the Mystic exhausts the intellect first, and says finally that the sense of God is something like the taste of an apple" - 58

Aquinas & Bonaventure defend freedom of the friars - hitherto contained in monasteries.

But for him the great popular movement might have been destroyed. Accused of upsetting common people. Thomas becomes public figure.

Moves on to defend Aristotle against the orthodox.

Before, the dominant ϕ was Plato & the Greek Neoplatonists

→ Augustine - Platonist → Manichee → Xn.

The war of Aquinas vs. Augustinians -

Dangers in Aug. - the Manichee: anti-corporeal.

The Platonist: divided the substance of the Trinity - a spirit who purifies (God), or a Saviour who redeems, not a God who creates.

Aquinas uses Aristotle to correct Plato's neglect of the created things & the human element in his theology.

Orthodox fear Aristotle as Mohammedan.

Aquinas proved that an Aristotelian could be a Xn. "The baptism of Aristotle"

Aquinas on Scripture shows scientific mind:

- 1) Meaning of Scripture often far from self-evident
- 2) We must interpret it in light of other truths
- 3) If literal interp. is really & fully contradicted by B, as fact - then lit. interp. must be false interp.
- 4) But the fact must really be an obvious fact

"Unfortunately, 14th c. scientists were just as ready to jump to the conclusion that any guess about nature was an obvious fact, as were 17th c. sectarians to jump to the conclusion that any guess about Scripture was the obvious explanation" p. 51.

Had matter been left to Aquinas - no conflict betw. Rel. & Scie.

Aquinas vs. Siger & Boetius:

Siger - which must be right that finally; but she can be wrong about finally. The truth of the natural world can contradict the truth of the supernatural. Man has two minds, but not 2 brains. 5
fid truths, - rather untruthful pretense that there are 2 truths.

Aquinas

Sum. Theol.

No theologian since Aquinas has had an equal influence on the theology of the Western Church.

1879, Leo XIII directs that teachings of St. Thomas be taken as basis of theology.

- Why:
- 1) Thomas a many-sided nature - as keenly interested in politics, mysticism as metaphysics, theology.
 - 2) Ideal scholar - penetrating instead of denouncing opponents, critical within reason, sober in judgment, proving all things while holding fast to that which is good.
 - 3) Producer of the most astounding synthesis of past theol. thought.

Works:

Commentary on Sentences of Peter Lombard - influence of Albertus Magnus, Aquinas. Later deserted.

Commentaries on Aristotle

Summa Contra Gentiles ^(visibile) chief medieval work in natural theology. Attempts to meet various objections by dist. betw. the spheres of natural reason & faith.

1) Natural reason - starts with sense data, attains knowledge of existence, unity, goodness, intelligence + will of God.

2) Faith - rests on revelation & authority; attains knowledge of God as purely spiritual Trinity.

Neither is more important, gives man a knowledge he would not otherwise possess.

But neither can contradict other, for both are from the source of all truth, God.

~~Summa~~ Theology is intended as the sum of all human learning.

Part I - God. Nature, attributes, trinity, Creation, problems re angels & man, divine govt. of world.

Part II - Man. General morality (based on Aristot. ethics) - man's end, will, passions, virtues, sin, the law and grace, practical in ethics & the life of contemplation.

Part III. God-Man. Reason, life & work of Christ.

Worked upon in sacraments, when he died. Finished by Reginald of Ripero.

2. Theology

a. Its subject matter - revelation. Where is this found?

- 1) In rel. experience of the individual.
- 2) In experiences of other men, as recorded. Scripture - the written revelation. Scripture becomes a primary base of theology.
- 3) Tradition - religious experience, but not recorded in writing. Conveyed orally, or by community spirit.
- 4) Creed - revelation formalized and interpreted authoritatively. Specifications of what the original revelation means, guided by the Holy Spirit.

3. Doctrines - officially approved theological statements, serving as touchstones for further theol. developments.

a. Orthodoxy - approved belief; heterodoxy - disapproved belief.

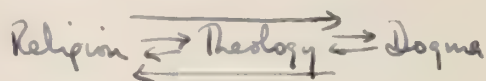
b. Dogma - originally simply teaching; - then right and obligatory teaching.
By connotation - arbitrary assertion.

4. Relations of theology.

a. Theology emerges from religion; dogma crystallizes out of theology.

b. But theology ipso facto alters religion - reflective religion is different from unreflective rel.

c. Dogma likewise affects theology



History of Doctrine

Prof. Calhoun
Notes from Ph. Moulton

A) Definitions of Doctrine and Dogma

1. Doctrine: a) doctrine occurs when religion becomes reflective (rel. may be just emotion, etc.)

b) reflection in rel. comes from:

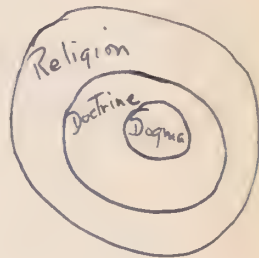
1) attacks from outside.

2) differences within the group.

c) difference between doctrine and theology: (nearly alike)

1) Theology - theoretic inquiry

2) Doctrine - application in teaching, i.e. "taught theology."



2. Dogma - authentic, or officially approved doctrine.
- not addition to, but interpretation of the word of God.

3. Dynamic relation between religion, doctrine and dogma. Rests on truth of word.

a) Religion takes shape in doctrine + doctrine then alters religion.

b) When doctrine issues in dogma, dogma changes doctrine and restricts it to orthodox discussion.

c) Dogma influences religion - crystallizes the fluid response that is religion.

B) The Flight from Dogma

1. Results: a) Religion of feeling.
b) Religion of action.

2. Reasons for rejection of dogma.

a. Revolt vs. Intellectualism

1). First type - Favoring other factors.

a) Romanticism - stressed uniqueness of the individual.

b) Hegel - declared there is a ~~knowledge~~ logic of feeling and impulse
- dialectic logic of dynamic interrelation, not old logic of the included middle.

c) Reaction from traditionalism - Kierkegaard, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche. - The will

d) Bergson - the intuition. Intellect falsifies reality; then intuition alone can
one cast oneself into the stream of reality.

2) Second type of reaction vs. intellectualism - Instrumentalism, not a rejection but a re-interpretation of reason. (see Bk. of Essays - Influence of Darwin on Philosophy). Intellect reduced to subordinate role.

a) Intellect a tool subordinated to the needs of life, developed in the struggle for survival - ∴ animal capacity, like speed, advantageous to those who possess it.

b) Proper goal of intellect is not absolute reality but the fulfillment of human requirements. If this is re-ordering of society, then intellect will seek that. Thinking is practical problem solving - the devotion of thought to any other end is waste motion.

c) This involves the implications of relativism. Probability is what counts, rather than certainty. The quest for certainty is misleading.

d) We see always in terms of our wants, and can't see objectively.

3) Third type reaction - Analytical Psychology, meta-psychology.

a) 19th c. predecessor - Feyerbach's concept of religious ideas as projections.

b) Schopenhauer and von Hartmann - thought is ^{like} light playing over surface of deep ocean ~~like~~ called mind.


(1) Thinking is a function of impulsive motives - not rational, often so awarled in conflict that the ideas of the surface indications are not properly called ideas, but only rationalizations.

c) U - ideology - intellect justifies what one does for other reasons; it becomes merely a bond-slave.

(1) Thought reflects the conflicts of the individual with society and self.

(2) Religious that is a peculiarly bad attempt to recover the security of infancy or pre-natal. Comfort by regression.

b. Revolt against Authority



b. Revolt against Authority

- 1) In society and politics - exaltation of the individual. (From revolution to new tendency grows)
Political authority taken by people, not by God - from below, not above.
- 2) In the church - Reformation correlated with the rise of national states.
- 3) Directed not to institutions but documents + traditions claiming authority, esp. Bible.
Historical + Natural science contributes to revolt vs. Bible.

∴ How can we have a valid idea of divine revelation. Therefore theology as the interpretation of revelation loses ground. People say Xty is a way of life, not a dogma.

3. Results of this flight from Dogma.

a. Religion rejected:

- 1) Casual rejection - ideas transplanted to secular order. Xn theology not needed.
- 2) Violent rejection
 - a) Marxists religion rejected as a function of social conservation.
 - b) Fascism, Nazism -

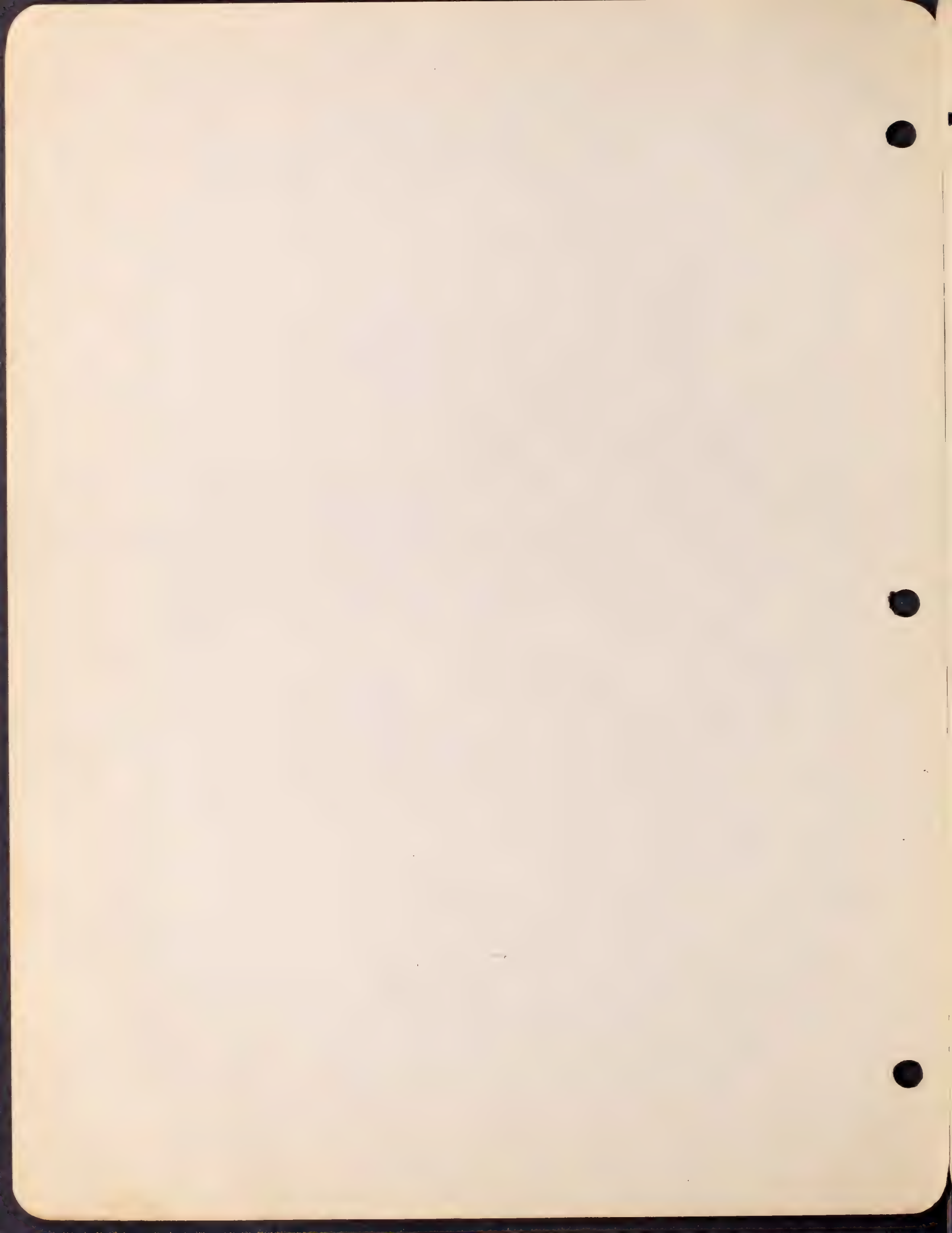
b. Dogmatic structure of religion rejected.

- 1) By humanists - seek to keep ethical + emotional, while rejecting religion.
- 2) By social gospelers.

c. Signs of reaction appearing vs. this flight from dogma.

4. Historical criticisms of dogma (Seeberg, I, 20f.)

- a. Rationalism - tainted with error because it originated in ancient, unilluminated periods."
- b. Baur - " " because it marks only a stage of transition to the spirit of modern times."
- c. Harnack - " " because it presents Xty as apprehended by antiquity, i.e. a secularized or Hellenized Xty.



C. Diagram or Curve of Dogmatic Development.

1. Introduction

1) Various interpretations:

- a) Haruack: (1) Constructive period - 5th or 8th c.
(2) Interpretation - Middle Ages.
(3) Criticism - Modern

b) Seeberg (p. 24): (1) Construction of Doctrine in Ancient Church.

(a) Post-Apostolic + Primitive Catholic Age.

(b) Origination of Dogma in Gk. Xty - Trinity, Christ, Images.

(c) " " " in West - Augustine: Sin, Grace, the Church

(2) Preservation, Transformation and Development of Doctrine in Middle Ages.

(a) External conservatism to 11th c.

(b) Abnormal refinement of Dogma by Scholasticism.

(c) Genuine developments - theology, Atonement, Sacraments, the Church.

(d) Perversions - dissolution of Augustinianism, Hierarchism.

(3) Development of Doctrinal System thru Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

(a) Reformatory ideas of Luther and Zwingli

(b) Development of these + controversies up to Formula of Concord, symbol of Dort

(c) Conservation of Middle Ages doctrine by Rome.

c) Calhoun will lay out base pattern, then show multiplicity from it.

2) General Considerations

a) Xty had no pre-literary, unreflective period - but like Bud., Zoroast., Muham. it was a reform religion within an already existing religion, highly advanced.

b) Xty was syncretistic from an early age - absorbed other factors, fused them around central core.

(1) Hellenism

(2) Oriental cults

(2) Genius of Rome

1. Christianity began with normative Judaism (not dispersion Judaism). Its emphases: -

a. God - Personal Will.

1) God is will, not a cosmic principle like the Stoic Logos.

2) God is a personal energy - creator, governs, individual.

The God of Judaism never disappears into sup. of categories.

b. Torah - God's will for man. Two types.

1) External - eternal

2) Revealed - Scripture.

c. Characteristic culture - bipolar, since Heb. exile.

- 1) Temple in Jerusalem - here centered Jewish concentration.
 - a) Worship - priesthood.
 - b) Ceremonial ~~concentration~~ ~~center~~ ~~here~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~temple~~.
 - c) Hierarchy.
- 2) Synagogue - even destr. of temple could not kill it.
 - a) For education as well as worship.
 - b) Ethical, not ceremonial stress.
 - c) Decentralized, not hierarchical. Democratic.

d. Apocalypticism - particular disposition among Jews, not universal

- 1) Expectation of end of existing world - establ. of Kgd. of God.
- 2) Associated with heroic figure - Messiah. (either earthly or heavenly figure).

2. Jesus' teaching centered about the prophetic ideas:

- a. Kingdom of God.
- b. Duty of man.

3. Jesus' followers (start with them, not Jesus)

- a. Faith of early church centered first on God.
- b. Then on Jesus himself second focus for that. Jesus brings in new age, evidenced by power etc.
- c. Then on the Spirit already present in touched lives. Spirit predicted by Joel, now at Pentecost.
- d. Then on the expected end near at hand. Full manifestation of spirit yet to come.

4. Hellenism (Jesus a spring within Judaistic stream which then mingled with other streams)

a. Contribution of the Greek mind.

- 1) Critical temper - how, why, clarity, etc.
- 2) Speculative thought - not to make precise old that, but to ① extend man's knowledge.
② systematize
- 3) Two important ideas for X^r that: -

- a) Idea of Nature: ① self-sufficient, self-originated, self-ordered, self-developing world.
② dynamic - persuaded by law and life, not simply atomized, becoming and being.
③ not interrupted by miracles - knit together in bonds of living order.

- b) Concept of Soul, a Spirit: ① different from, and able to control body.
② capable of apprehending ethical, logical values.

X^rs. take Plato's soul idea (his from Orphic soul = payment from God; then Pythagoreans) - makes it different from O.T.

b. Contribution of Greek popular religion.

- 1) Emphasis on feeling - not that.
- 2) Identific. of worshipers in div. life-principles - not simply matter of intellectual comprehension.

5. Oriental strains:

- Babylonian - astronomical myths and speculation.
- Nature cults - Isis, Atthis, etc.
- Persian - cosmic dualism (light vs. dark, good vs. evil). Influenced ideas that.

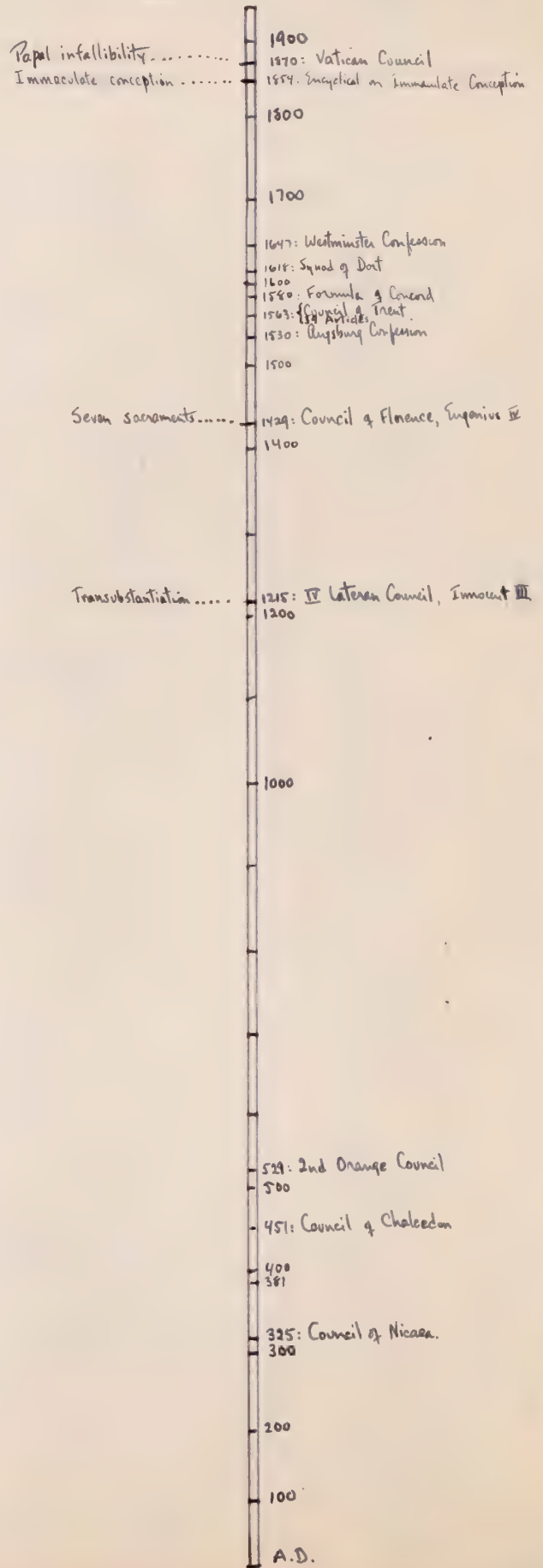
6. Roman strain:

- Organization and discipline - military and civil.
- Sober and practical temper.
- Forensic

7. Growth of Dogma

- Begins in 1st, 2nd c. vs. Gnosticism. But not much yet.
- Doctrine of God formulated in 325, after series of tensions concerning relation of Jesus' divinity and traditional monotheism. Reaffirmed 381, then unchallenged.
Jesus is God.
- Doctrine of Jesus' humanity - Chalcedon, 451. Jesus - 1 person, with 2 complete, perfect natures.
- Council of Orange (2nd) - 529. Western Church grapples with doctrines of Man, Sin, Grace. Depends Augustine as whole - but silent of the irresistibility of God's grace. In epilogue man's will weakened, but his freedom not entirely destroyed. Semi-Augustinianism becomes normative for the church.
- 1215 - 4th Lateran Council under Innocent III. Doctrine of eucharist, transubstantiation.
- 1439 - Council of Florence under Eugenius IV. Doctrine of the 7 sacraments.
- 1530 - Augsburg Confession:
 - 1) Rejects sacramentalism
 - 2) 4 main doctrines: God, Original Sin, Christ, justification by Faith.re-affirms Nicene + Chalcedon positions; adds some, retains some Cath. dogma.
- 1563 - Council of Trent.
 - 1) Scripture and unwritten tradition authoritative.
 - 2) Rejects Prot. doctrine of original sin.
 - 3) Justification - maintains balance betw. divine initiative and human response, between will and insight. (most masterly analysis of the council)
 - 4) Defense of the sacraments
 - 5) Purgatory.
- Attacks + counterattacks narrow area of free inquiry
 - 1) Lutherans - 1530 and 1570 (Formula of Concord)
 - 2) Calvinists - Heidelberg Conf. 1563
Swiss Confessions: Helvetic, Geneva.
39 Articles (Ch. of England) 1563 (revision of 42 Articles of 1553)
Synod of Dort, 1618
Westminster Confession - 1647

- 3) Catholics - 1) 1854 - Encyclical on the Immaculate Conception
 2) 1869-70 - Vatican Council based on Leo IX's Syllabus of Errors (1864)
Papal Infallibility, in ex cathedra utterances on faith + morals.



PART I: CHRISTIAN URGEMEINDE (Jesus-centered).

I. The Religion of Jesus - centered on God, man's duty.

1. Jesus in the prophetic tradition
 - a. God as Creator and Saviour - both sides in balance: Judge and Father (not indulgent).
 - b. Men must repent and change.
 - c. Emphasis on inner ethical demands, not outward ceremonial; inward disposition, not outer act.
 - d. Sonship to God is higher than demands of the law.
2. Did Jesus claim Messiahship?
 - a. Blhmn thinks yes. Perhaps Brousset correct: Jesus accepted Messiahship reluctantly because men would not reform just because of sonship to God. ∴ Jesus compelled to suppose his insight a sign of divine commission.
 - b. Jesus did not adopt prevalent Messiah concept - zealot fighting victims war. Possibly he saw himself as the scape-goat (A. Schweitzer). Heart-searching nature of forgiveness.
 - c. His followers accepted the suffering-servant concept.
3. Christ's gospel an affront to everyday thinking of everyday people. Proved by fact that his contemporaries rejected him and were rejected by God, according to Jesus. ∴ We need justification by faith.
∴ Xenophon's false picture of Socrates, who would never have been killed if he had just had all the homely virtues Xen. paints.

II. Reaction of Jesus' Companions.

1. How reconcile J's crucifixion with his Messiahship? The resurrection.
2. Their Christology.
 - a. J. is Messiah - Jewish concept.
 - b. J. is Lord (Κυριος) - for Greeks. But to Jews κυριος meant the Most High God. (Ps. 110)
 - c. J. is Son of God - ο μονογενης υιος του Θεου. Jesus the unique Son of God. Interpretations:
 - 1) Adoptionist - God raised him into Sonship. But when? - Resurrection, Transfiguration, Baptism.
 - 2) But the birth stories push back his Sonship - Jesus was divine at conception. Son at birth.
 - 3) Pre-existence: - esp. in Paul and John. Centered in 2 concepts.
 - a) Wisdom - cf. Prov. 7, 8, 9.
 - b) Word - Philo calls this a 2nd God.
 - a) Three Bks. of Testimonies vs. Jews, collected with Cyprian's works, collection of O.T. and Apocryph. prog-texts on Christ to aid Xn work among Jews. (ANF-V)
 - d. J. is God - the Word is God, but not the whole of God. Different views:-
 - 1) A divine being, but on another level, perhaps a 2nd God. Docetism
 - 2) "Very God" - in full sense.
3. Hope in the New Age - chiefly a matter of spirit, probably, not institution. Certain acts gave expression to this hope - baptism, eucharist, Easter.

III. Reaction of Paul.

[John and Paul emerge in the community and shape Xn proclamation into terms modifying the common that, + direct it into channels into which it wouldn't have moved.]

1. Man's plight.

a. Sharp antitheses in a network:

1) Present world created by God, Man in God's image.

Conflict betw present age + age to come: life-free gift. Death-wages of sin.

2) Man, as creature, should be in God, not self. 2 contrasting impulses:

a) To serve God - good.

b) To dominate, let sex dominate - bad. These not bad in themselves, but become bad when they dominate.

3) Conflict of flesh and spirit:

a) Flesh - life lived in self-regarding way. "What I want."

b) Spirit - acknowledges God's will as primary.

b. In his nature man could have pleased God, but he acted wrongly.

2. Redemptive Act of God thru Jesus Christ.

a. Satisfaction of divine justice. Son assumes our sinful flesh, and our burden.

breaks free of that burden in only possible way - broke hold of evil by death.

Death was not ransom from paying penalty - but divine strategy outflanking devil.

b. Mercy of God revealed. His own Son suffered for our sin.

Not a doctrine of atonement, but a gospel of redemption: men free of death receive life at God's hands, i.e. those who respond in the required way.

3. Man's Response to that Act: Faith.

a. Not an act - but a change in man's status effected by God's power. (cf. his entanglement in human sin due to Adam.) Change of inner man from self-orientation to God-orientation.

b. Sign of favor of God - man can't perform himself. (cf. Augustine, but not so carefully set forth in Paul).

c. Paul's mysticism - not Plotinus-like mystic; but his sense of participation of the worshipper in the life of the Lord, identification with Christ, makes Paul a mystic.

4. Resulting Outlook for Man. Eschatology: 2 strains.

a. End is near, e.g. Thessalonian letters.

b. But also a universalistic outlook - end not imminent but to be worked out here. Whole world subjected to suffering by God in hope that it will eventually be better off, e.g. "whole creation groaneth..."

But Paul mainly particularistic, not universalistic.

IV. Reaction of John

1. Monistic compared with Paul. Eternity and time interpenetrate.
2. Logos + Incarnation - key of interpenetration: God's mediator to earth.
 - a. Antecedents:
 - 1) Rendell Harris claims it as Greek metaphysical concept.
 - 2) Jewish Wisdom Literature - says what's said of Logos: Proverbs, Wisd. of Solomon, Odes of Solomon.
 - b. But incarnation of Logos is unique to John 1:1
 - 1) Never said of Wisdom; no Greek precedent.
 - 2) Philo seems to imply it, but really only a participation of human leader in the divine spirit, whereas John speaks of individualization of Logos in the human person.
 - 3) Polemical aim - vs. Docetists.
 - c. Identification of Logos with God.
 - 1) John's prologue - "was God", "only begotten God hath revealed him" (ancient mss.)
 - 2) Thomas' confession weights scale to identify Logos with God.
3. Emphasis on Deity of Jesus. Christ is God (only in Hebrews is this so definite)
 - a. Miracles
 - b. Logos doctrine
 - c. Words of Jesus - "I and the Father are one"
"Before Abraham was, I am"
"Son of Man is in heaven"
 - d. Confession of Thomas - "My Lord and My God."
4. Emphasis on humanity of Jesus - e.g. incarnation. Directed vs. Docetists.
5. Method of salvation:
 - a. Faith - (diff. from Paul) - assent to particular view of nature of J.X., belief in revelation of X. as Logos.
 - b. Knowledge ("who deprecates it) - "this is life to know thee." Faith and knowledge go together.
This knowledge is identification of knowing mind with object known. Comes only thru faith + love.
 - c. Love - sign of walking in the light.
6. Polemical vs. Judaism - not anti-legalistic like Paul (faith in contrast to attempt to obey the law; effort to obey is harmful to faith), but rather takes the law into the new life. Love is a commandment infinitely superior to old ones, so superior that rebirth is necessary to make it accessible, yet this very rebirth is a fulfillment of the old commandments.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH (ca. 100)

- Introd:
- 1) Martyred bishop of Antioch - 7 letters: Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnans and Polycarp. (ca. 110 A.D.).
 - 2) Re-echoes Johannine thought - 1st cent. views more sharply defined. First great thinker in Antioch line (Syrian rather than Asian background).

1. Theology

a. Doctrine of God (Some characteristics of Syrian - Samaritan Gnosticism)

- 1) God is Silence. He is Creator, Sovereign, Father, but his essential being is hidden in silence ($\Sigma\omega\gamma\iota$ used with idea of abyss).
- 2) God is known only as he reveals Himself thru the Logos, which proceeds from silence.
 - a) Logos is true God, timeless, without beginning. Raised self from Dead.
 - b) Logos is also true man. (vs. Docetists, who are the primary of believers). Jesus truly lived, died.

- 3) Christology - Christ both God and man; begotten and unbegotten, capable of suffering and incapable. No attempt to resolve these paradoxes - he is an enthusiast, not a theologian. Christ became man to reveal God - he was Logos.

Born of a virgin

|| a) Christ reveals God as Logos.

|| b) Christ indwells the believer (leading thought of Ignatius).

b. Salvation - union ($\epsilon\upsilon\omega\upsilon\sigma$) with Christ.

- 1) Salvation is only thru Christ as revealer of God and indweller in the believer. Thru the believer becomes a God-bearer.
- 2) Salvation is apprehended thru faith and love, which are the entire sum of the Xn life. "Faith is the line, love the way drawing up to God" We are stones of the temple, the cross is the engine, the Holy Spirit the rope drawing up to God. Goal - the glory of God.
- 3) The outcome - presence of new life, unity of believer with believer, with Jesus, with God.

2. Ecclesiology.

a. The Catholic Church ($\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda\iota\kappa\eta$) = universal, not externally unified) - first use of term.

- 1) Christ is its bishop and center.
- 2) The apostles are its presbytery (Philad 5.1)

b. The separate congregation - patterned after the church universal.

- 1) The bishop is a type of Christ. His authority is supreme, but local. N.B. Christ and the apostles, not the episcopacy, condition the unity of the church (Seeberg, 67)

a) Reasons for Ignatius' stress on the bishop:

- (1) To maintain moral principle of authority and subjection in society.
- (2) To support bishops as fixed authority opposing spreading Gnosticism

- 2) Reverence also due to presbyters and deacons.

Part II. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

I. THE DIDACHE (ca. 110 A.D.?)

A. Theology:

1. God is Father, Son and Holy ghost (baptismal formula).
2. Salvation:
 - a. Bestowed by God thru Christ.
 - b. Its blessings: life, joy, faith, immortality, indwelling name of God.
 - c. Means of applying salvation to the individual.
 - 1) Baptism
 - 2) Eucharist
 - 3) Preaching of traveling apostles, and prophets; teachers, bishops and deacons. No hierarchy involved - all on equal footing.
3. Eschatological concept of kingdom of God. End of world is near.

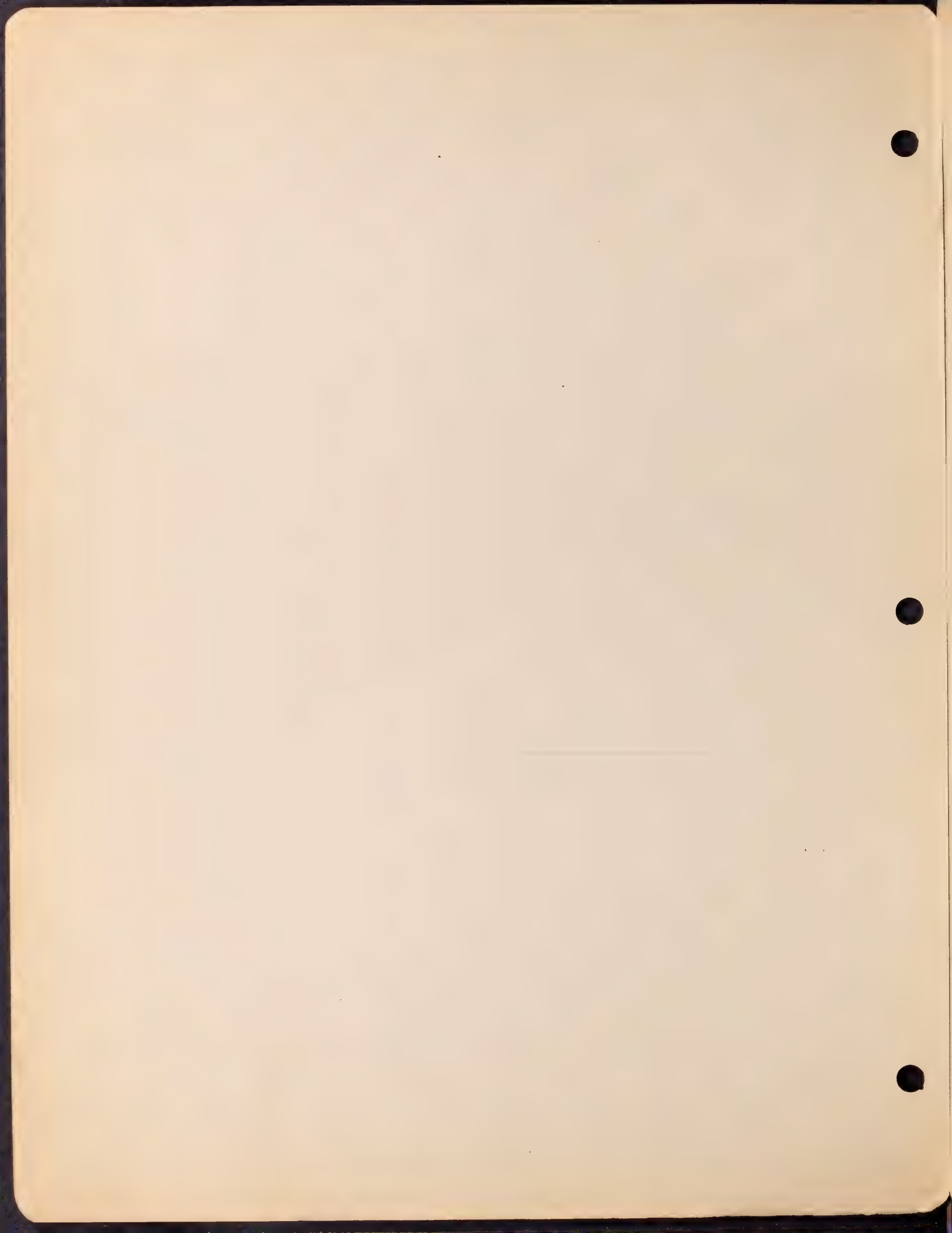
B. Ecclesiology - no hierarchy in the exercise of spiritual functions. All are free agencies of the spirit.

C. Christian Moralism:

1. Love to God and one's neighbor
2. Avoiding gross sins
3. Opposing sins of physical and spiritual lust.
4. Proper conduct toward teachers, church, the needy, children and servants
5. Perpetual penitence.

Summary:

"God has thru Christ bestowed upon Christians an immortal life, which is displayed in faith, hope and knowledge. This is produced and preserved in man thru baptism, the Lord's Supper, and thru teaching and instruction given in many ways. He maintains this life in earnest moral striving and in perpetual penitence, and is thus prepared for the approaching judgment and its terrors." (Seeberg, p. 75)



II. BARNABAS (150-190?)

- Introd: -
- 1) Extravagant allegorical exegesis - perhaps Alexandrian.
 - 2) But preserves apostolic ideas with relative purity. Pauline in flavor. lacks moralistic taint, the same innovation is retained; justification not emphasized.
 - 3) Anti-judaic: God's cont. with Israel never concluded. Law, he allegorizes, as all of O.T.

A. Theology: -

1. Christology -

- a. Pre-existent and returning. Son of God, not Son of Man. Appeared in flesh so men could behold him.
- b. Suffered on cross as sacrifice brings
 - 1) Abolition of death
 - 2) Resurrection
 - 3) Forgiveness of sins and sanctification.

(But nature, necessity + objects of X's sacrifice not made clear)

2. Redemption possessed them
 - 1) baptism
 - 2) faith and hope
3. The "new life" is the result - "being without the yoke of necessity", yet the divine commandments are strongly stressed. We freely fulfill the commandments.
4. The end of the world is near - he interprets the signs in Daniel, Revelation in an involved eschatology.

B. Weaknesses: -

1. Nature + necessity of X's sacrifice not clear.
2. Spiritual role of Israel misunderstood and allegorized.
3. Failure to recognize that forgiveness of sins remains vital to X's life than entire life.
(This is common to early fathers)
4. Extravagant eschatology - 10 Kingdoms of Dan. 7 are Roman Emperors etc.
5. No emphasis on justification.

III. PAPIAS - millennial reign on earth (in fragment from Eusebius).

V. POLYCARD to the Philippians. (ca. 110 A.D.)

1. Assumes recognition of deity and humanity of Christ. Soberly Christocentric.
2. Evangelical concepts strong - Christ suffers for our sins. In love we obey his commandments.
3. Johannine influence evident.

IV. CLEMENT OF ROME (ca. 100 A.D.)

Introd: - 1) Letter from Roman church to Corinthian church

2) Directed largely against sedition + disorder in the church, which is rebuked as caused by pride.

A. Theology

1. One God - Creator and Father (leading thought of Epistle). Our duty to love him who elects us.

2. Christology:

a. He is sent from God to deliver us. His sufferings are the sufferings of God.

b. He is the only mediator of salvation; redeems by his blood, which was so precious to the Father that it obtained the grace of repentance in the whole world.

c. His life is our pattern.

3. The standing of the believer (2 emphases): -

|| a. Justification through faith alone (32. 3, 4) [Pauline emphasis]

|| b. Forgiveness of sins through loving obedience to God's commands (50.5). [moralistic]

4. Resurrection of the body clearly taught.

B. Ecclesiology.

1. The church is the chosen people of God.

2. Authority of elders supported by legal argument from the C.T.

|| a. N.B. Here a fixed office supplies the free activity of spirit in the church.

b. Discipline and order in the fellowship are stressed.

Weakness:

1. Biblical conception of Christ's work } not really understood and inwardly appropriated.
2. Significance of faith

V. The SHEPHERD of HERMAS (97-100 A.D.)

- Introd:
- 1) An early exhortation to repentance, in form of popular apocalyptic romance, bizarre symbolism.
 - 2) Irenaeus says the book was read as Holy Scripture.

A. Theology

1. Christology (a) not adoptionist (i.e. X not separate divine person, but Holy Spirit dwelt in his flesh). Discrimination is clear between pre-existent Christ and Holy Spirit (Sim. 5; 9. 12. 2, 5; 5.6.2 etc.)
(b) In O.T. placed men under protection of angels, then himself became man in order to purify them.
2. Salvation - directly associated with person of Christ.
3. State of the believer.
 - a. Weak and full of sin in himself, but dwelt in by the Holy Ghost, thereby receiving powers of the Son of God.
 - b. Sins are forgiven thru baptism.
 - c. Moral life is demanded: - (2 emphases)
 - 1) Fundamental subjective condition of moral life - faith, i.e. knowledge and acknowledgement of God as creator, and turning of heart to God.
 - 2) Moralistic emphasis - life promised for keeping commandments.
4. Concept of repentance: - (central note)
 - a. Second repentance (after Baptism) granted by God in special way thru preaching of Hermas.
 - b. Distinguishes between minor sins and complete apostasy. (Beginning of Catholic distinction between venial and mortal sins.) No Christian can live without minor moral faults - for these he takes refuge in Lord. But for major sin of apostasy repentance (like conversion) is necessary.

B. Ecclesiology

1. Church rests on Christ, the ancient rock with the new door.
2. Not all within the visible church are true believers - church must be purified.

General Estimate of Apostolic Fathers

1. Leading features

- a. One God, Creator, Father, Governor, who chooses Christians as his people.
- b. Jesus Christ, Son of God, God.
 - 1) Active at creation, but no definite doctrine in regard to his pre-existence (2 Clem. makes him a creature)
 - 2) God - but no definite doctrine of relation to the Father, or relation of divine-human nature
 - 3) Appeared in the flesh - but no doctrine of method of incarnation.
- c. Trinitarian baptismal formula preserved.
- d. General agreement on sinfulness of human race
- e. Jesus Christ is redeemer - by death freed man from sin and death - but no distinct conception of the importance of X's death (the redemption is made dependent on it)
- ~~f. Forgiveness of sins thru baptism - but significance of forgiveness for whole Christian life is observed (Hermas & Clement only include past sins in forgiveness).~~
- f. Salvation - described in different ways - :-
 - 1) Forgiveness of sins thru baptism - but its significance for whole Xn life is observed.
 - 2) Communion with God, the indwelling of the Father.
 - 3) Knowledge of God
 - 4) The new law.
 - 5) Eternal life as the reward of moral living.
- g. Means of appropriating salvation blessings :-
 - 1) Baptism - for new life and forgiveness.
 - 2) The Word of God
 - 3) The Lord's Supper
 - 4) Influence of good angels (Hermas)
- h. Faith and good works :
 - 1) Faith is the first step.
 - 2) But after that man must merit forgiveness by good works.
 - 3) Love is displayed in good works - faith depreciates in significance.
- i. The Christian lives in connection with a church - in harmony of spirit and in sharp contrast to the heathen world. Its unity is based on Christ. The clerical office is highly esteemed, but the free activity of all believers in spiritual things is recognized.
- j. Vivid eschatology -
 - 1) End of this vain world is near
 - 2) Hell is real
 - 3) Millennial kingdom of God hoped for (Other the document, the sterner the longing)

2. Two main weaknesses of the Apostolic Fathers.

- a. Lack of understanding of the work of Christ (due to Gentile ignorance of O.T. presuppositions?)
 - 1) His direct work in the forgiveness of sins by his death.
 - 2) His relation to the father.
- b. Moralistic tendency (not due to Judaic legalism, but heathen moralism).
 - 1) Forgiveness becomes not the essential object of faith, but the reward of works.
 - 2) Love loses its inner, impulsive power and turns to the fulfilling of the commandments.
 - 3) This derived from Greek-Roman ideal of human freedom but paved a doorway through which Judaic legalism entered the church.

3. Two fundamental rules of faith for the Apostolic Fathers.

a. The Scriptures

- 1) Old Testament - used as infallible authority by Christ (Matt. 5:17; Lk. 22:44) and apostles (Rom. 1:2; Gal. 3:22)
- 2) Words of Christ (Matt. 10:40; I Thess. 4:15, Acts 20:35) (Barn. 9:14, 2 Clem 2:4). First: 131 A.D. Barnabas
- 3) Words of apostles (2 Thes. 2:15) (Ign. Tral. 2:2, Magn. 6:1; I Clem 47:1). First: 110 A.D. by Polycarp.

|| Antignostic fathers at end of 2nd c. regard recognition of authority of NT as always in the church.

|| But canon of Scripture not defined - in places included:

Hermes	1 and 2 Clement
Barnabas	Apocalypse of Peter
Didache	Prædication of Peter.

b. The Apostles' Creed. (probably end of 1st, beginning of 2nd century).

- 1) Oldest form is ancient Roman formula, based on an apostolic baptismal formula.
- 2) Importance of this fixed dogma: -
 - a) Preserved the consciousness that salvation depends on the work of Christ.
 - b) Taught church to constant doctrine as the doctrine of the deeds of God.
 - c) Taught men to view deeds of God under a trinitarian conception.

PART III. THE APOLOGISTS

1. Quadratus ca. 125
2. Aristides
3. Justin Martyr, d. 166, b. ca. 100.
4. Tatian
5. Athenagoras ca. 170
6. Theophilus

I. JUSTIN MARTYR

Introd: 1) Justin - lawyer and philosopher.

2) Becomes Xn after trying: (philosopher turned Xn)

a) Stoicism - recd. no knowledge of God.

b) Aristotelian Peripatetics - teacher wanted a fee.

c) Pythagorean - lacked background in music, astronomy, geometry.

d. Platonists - learned concept of soul, immaterial things.

3) Fulfilled prophecy was the Xn argument that brought conviction.

4) Works: First and Second Apology ca. 150 A.D.
Dialogue with the Jew Trypho.

1. Apologetic argument:

a. Answer to ethical indictment.

1) Xns not atheists - worship true God, tho not Emperor.

2) Xns not poor citizens - quiet, law-abiding, tho they don't take office.

3) Xns. not immoral - don't cannibalize, infanticide, sex, etc. "you're projecting on us your own transgressions."

4) Xns are proletarian - true and proud of it.

b. Intellectual defense: Xty is superior to best pagan philosophies.

1) Greeks had some truth from God - Socrates, Plato, Heraclitus. Plato got his best stuff from Moses.

2) But Hebrew prophets had better truth from God, esp. Moses.

3) Better yet - full truth is only for followers of J. X. ~~Xty is a better philosophy,~~

4) Summary: a) Xty is a better philosophy than Gk. ϕ .

b) Xty is better than Judaism: (1) Mosaic law only a copy; Xty the eternal law itself.

(2) J. X. not just a prophet, but the Logos incarnate.

2. Christian Doctrine: (Gordianus claims he follows Philo)

a. Concept of God.

1) Greek element - God is wholly other, beyond space, time, conceptual that; even beyond numbers.
- Unbegotten, Nameless, utterly transcendent. God is absolute, yet;

2) Christian element - Creator, Sovereign, Judge, Father. God is in concrete relation to man.

b. The Logos - relates God to universe. $\text{Logos} = \text{God} \ \& \ \text{O.T. theophanis} = \text{Christ}$.

1) Creation - not by emanation, for this suggests unlikeness and unsubstantiality.
not by begetting, for this would be too physical.
perhaps kindled, as fire by fire.

2) Activity of Logos:

a) Agent of Father in creation and government of universe.

b) Seminal Logos - pervasive principle of life: - adapted from Stoics: $\text{Logos} \ \sigma\pi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$

1) First used to explain how children are like parents - organic concept. Also plants etc.

2) Expanded by Stoics into metaphysical concept, rational focus of all life. Seed from great Logos makes man rational.

c) $\text{Logos} = \text{Wisdom and power of God, operating cosmically, and specifically humanward.}$

3) Person $\delta\acute{o} \ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ (2nd God, but nevertheless $\delta\acute{o} \ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$). God of O.T. theophanis, as

b) contracted to ineffable, wholly transcendent O.T. God.

c) Incarnate in Jesus Christ.

c. The Holy Spirit - no trinity. 1) Effect produced in man by act of God. (Calvin)

2) Frequently mentions H.S., but makes no distinction between H.S. and Logos. (McG)

[3) yet uses the trinitarian baptismal formula]

d. Sin and redemption.

1) Sin - a) No original sin - just particular sins, arising from ignorance of consequences of sin.

b) \therefore Man may obey God whenever he wishes. Sin is avoidable. (Apd. I.43). Free will.

2) Redemption - by incarnation of Logos. Two saving works: -

a) Revelation - gives men motive for not sinning.

b) Assumption of curse on man who broke the law. But no clear doctrine of atonement.

3) Salvation by: a) Conviction that God demands virtue, punishes sin.

(man's achievement) b) This conviction leads to repentance. Repentance rewarded by forgiveness of past sin.

c) Recognition of Jesus' Messiahship also a condition of salvation.

d) Baptism

e. The Church ("the ark of salvation")

1) Membership for individual responders to revelation

2) Characteristics: (a) Teaching the truth (b) Practice of sacraments (c) Discipline.

f. Eschatology - premillennial.

II. THE APOLOGISTS (summarized)

1. General characteristics: (Calhoun) Xn theology arose from practical necessity.
 - a. Aim - make Xty acceptable to educated people.
 - b. Doctrine centered on Logos.
 - c. Central claim - we have the truth the philosophers seek.
 - d. But emphasize that Christianity contrasts with heathenism.
2. Christian Doctrine of the Apologists. (Seeberg)
 - a. God - ① absolute attributeless Existence
- ② Son is Logos, first-born work of the Father, God to be worshipped, yet truly man.
③ Trinity (Theoph. ii, 15; Ath. 12) - "carried away with this desire only, to see God and the Logos with him. What is the unity of the Son with the Father? what the fellowship of the Father with the Son? what the Spirit? what the union and difference of those who are thus united - the Spirit, the Son, and the Father?" 170A.
 - b. The Work of Christ.
 - 1) Teacher of the race - teaches ① One God
② the new law, requiring a virtuous life.
③ the resurrection and immortality.
 - 2) Sufferings and death of Christ significant and essential - but apologists don't seem to understand why his death was necessary. No atonement doctrine.
 - a) By his sufferings he takes men's curse on him.
 - b) They bring forgiveness of sins.
 - c) They set free from death and the power of the devil.
 - c. The Church - the people of God. Islands of safety where truth is taught, virtue reaps.
 - d. Bodily resurrection
3. Importance of the Apologists.
 - a. Reveal that church labored from same defects as in days of apostolic fathers.
 - 1) Inadequate doctrine of work of Christ.
 - 2) Moralism
 - b. Give us the beginnings of theology in the church: - to make it intelligible to the cultured it was forced into "foreign framework (the religion of reason)", with the following ideas made prominent: -
 - 1) Abstract (Platonic) conception of God.
 - 2) Stoic Logos doctrine employed to make divinity of Christ comprehensible.
 - 3) Theory that man's fallen state consists essentially in ignorance and mortality.
 - ① redemption consists of instruction and immortality.

PART IV. ABERRANT CHRISTIANITY

1. Jewish Christianity
2. Marcion
3. Gnosticism

Reasons for prolificity of aberrant forms: -

- a. Plasticity of X's teaching in this period
- b. Revelation concept encouraged many to speak out.
- c. Presence of many heathen cults - converts from Hellenistic, oriental etc cults brought in their own interpretations.

I. Judaizing Christianity. (influence confined to east of Jordan, Syria, ∴ of little doctrinal importance).

A. Moderates - Jewish Christians: didn't expect all X's to be Jews.

1. Follow Peter and James, the Lord's brother
2. Principles:

- a. Jewish converts still bound by Moses, not so the Gentile converts.
- b. Agree in faith with Catholic Church - deity of Christ, virgin birth.
- c. Acknowledge Paul, but in practice retain their national law (for themselves, but not Gentiles).

B. Christian Pharisees (opponents of St. Paul) - expected all X's to be Jews.

1. Jewish-Christian opponents of St. Paul
2. Views:

- a. Demand strict legislation of all Christians - circumcision and the law.
- b. Reject Paul as apostate.
- c. Reject Catholic doctrine - deity of Christ, virgin birth. (X becomes Son of God thru piety).
- d. Reject most of Bible - use only a recension of Matthew, Ebionite gospel of the Hebrews.

C. Jewish Gnosticism - speculative and ascetic.

1. Elkesaites - followers of Ἠλκसाί who claimed new angelic revelation

- a. Second baptism for forgiveness of sins, physical healing
- b. Rejects Paul, and Catholic doctrine (e.g. Virgin birth). Eucharist celebrated with water.
- c. Astrological superstitions - adopted in attempt at popular syncretism?

2. Clementines - Twenty Homilies, and the Recognitions (combine popular Catholicism + Gnostic elements).

- a. God is το πᾶν (the All).
- b. Law of antagonism - both Christ and devil spring from God; double line of prophets - the male (good) and the female (bad).
- c. Christ is son of God, but not God.
- d. Asceticism - vegetable diet, prohibition of marriage.

3. Historical influence - only upon Mohammedanism - this is said to be the form of X's that Mohammed contacted (cf. Wellhausen, Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten H. iii. 197ff)

"Out of the combination of the two great monotheistic religions of the Semitic race arose the third" (Weber, p. 91)

III. Gnosticism

Introduction: -

1. Origin - traditionally from Simon Magus of Samaria. Three types in Apostolic Age: -
 - a) Opposition to the sensuous, freedom of the Spirit. Asceticism.
 - b) Religious philosophical speculation. e.g. Corinthians.
 - c) Magic of asceticism - Simon Magus, Menander.
2. Spread widely from 100 A.D. on. Groups and leaders: -
 - a) Cerdo and Saturninus. Thy influence.
 - b) Basilides and Valentinius. Bardesanes.
 - c) Groups: - Ophites, Sethites, Naasenes etc. Some claim these are corrupted forms of the Gnosticism of the leaders; others that the leaders systematized the thought of the groups.
3. Sources of Gnosticism: -
 - a) Babylonian astrology
 - b) Persian dualism
 - c) Egyptian magic and myth (in Hermetic literature) - from this: $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\upsilon\mu\alpha$, spirit-world.
 - d) It is not a philosophizing of Christianity (Harnack vs.), or a Hellenization of Xty (vs. Harnack).

A. General Characteristics: -

1. Syncretism - first attempt to bring world into subjection to church by harmonizing the two.
2. Master-concept: saving Gnosis. Under this it fused Orphic, Hebrew, Platonic, Xn, nature cults.
3. This $\gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ - not primarily speculative, but divine revelation of mysteries, i.e. formulae necessary to conquer body and world.
4. Metaphysical dualism combined with ethical and religious dualism - salvation and destruction.

B. Chief Doctrines.

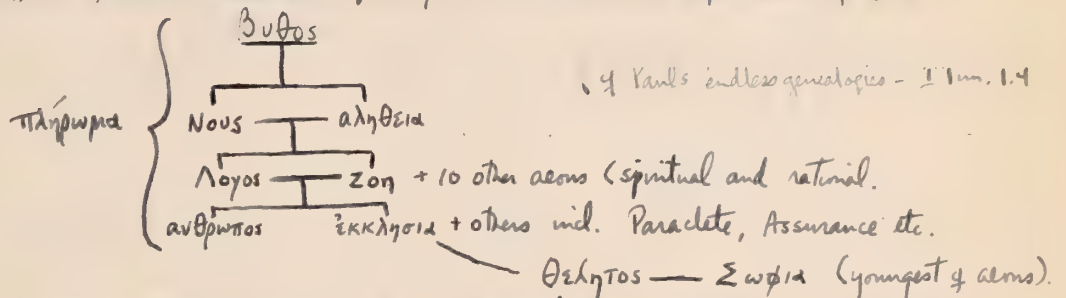
1. From spirit-world [$\beta\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ (abyss), or $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\upsilon\mu\alpha$] emanates present world.
2. Creation not by supreme God, but Demiurge, or God of the Jews.
3. Remnant from spirit-world exists in realm of matter. This is to be saved by soteriological process.
4. Sensuousness is the evil in men. The body is the prison of the soul.
5. The Redeemer (from spirit-world) is Jesus Christ, who either inhabits a body, or appears to. He redeems the ~~soul~~ spirit by giving it knowledge, thus strengthening it to release itself from matter.
6. Moral attitudes - double form: either (a) asceticism - body is evil.
or (b) licentiousness - body doesn't matter.
7. Lack doctrine of resurrection of the dead; Christian eschatology.

C. Valentinus

- Documents:
 - Quotations in Hippolytus and Irenaeus.
 - ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ

2. Gnostic system

- Ground of reality - βυθος (abyss). Creator there. Σιγη (silence) early thought of as companion of creator, but probably not in the original idea.
- Πλήρωμα of aeons emanate from βυθος - these are explications of God.



- Nous - the μονογενης, the real, spiritual son. Others not so profound.
- Σωφια - the youngest, tries to be like God and produce beings. Motive - curiosity. The result is disaster - she produces only non-being, formless mass with no place in the Πλήρωμα.

c. Achaemth () - projection of wisdom into area of non-being by Σωφια's folly. ~~Part~~
 up in this false birth a part of substance of spirit remains, for it is part of spiritual aeon.

- d. The problem: 1) How to prevent Πλήρωμα from losing its reality to achamoth.
 2) How to recapture spirit from achamoth.

e. The answer: salvation and redemption.

1) Limit made to Πλήρωμα and 2 new aeons added: Jesus Christ and Holy Spirit.

2) In J. Christ (docetic) were parts of all aeons (fulness of the Godhead).

3) Demiurge, son of Sophia, shapes up achamoth into this world. His animal shrewdness enables him to shape up body, but his lack of wisdom keeps him from realizing that a portion of spirit is in body. This gets into certain human beings, who are thus saveable: -

a) ψυχικοί - no Sophia, can't be saved.

b) πνευματικοί - some Sophia, saved by being enticed from temporal world to eternal.

4) J. Christ and angels directed to bring revelation and attraction for the πνευματικοί.

a) πνευματικοί respond to him, even after he's gone; they leave body, return to eternal home.

b) Eventually all get to eternal home - (cf. gathering of the elect)

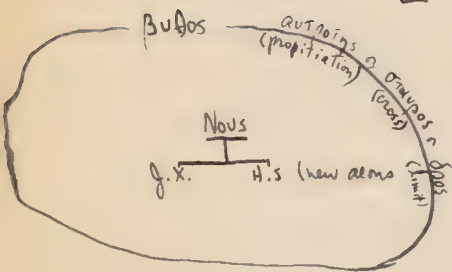
c) Then conflagration burns up physical world and demerge. Πλήρωμα is then all in all.

f. Scriptural justification by fanciful allegorization - rejected by Irenaeus.

1) 30 aeons = 30 yrs. of Christ.

2) Sophia touching Abether for healing = healing of ill woman.

3) Tragedy of Judas, 12th apostle = tragedy of Sophia, 12th aeon.



3. Ethic of Valentines.

- a. Asceticism - to facilitate release of spirit from body by abstinence from animal foods, procreation, etc.
- b. Justification by painful allegorization of Paul.

4. General temper of gnosticism:— theosophical, not evangelical.

- a. Dualism, sharp line between spirit and earth - not a gospel, an affirmation of the eternal coming into time. No real redemption - mechanical ingestion of Spirit into body.
- b. Magic - way of return to spirit not ethical or spiritual, but magical.
- c. No faith - just recognition of gnosis.
- d. Escape salvation - not in but from the world

5. Modern counterparts: New Thought, Christian Science, the attempt to recast the fascinating concept that salvation is already complete for those already essentially divine.

Note: element of election is present; but in the sense of being different, not of being chosen from men who are all alike.

II. Marcionites

A. Life of Marcion:

1. Driven from home church in Sinope on adultery charge, comes to Rome 140 A.D.
2. Son of wealthy shipowner - gives Roman church \$10,000. But becomes dissatisfied.
3. Organizes new church under infl. of Syrian Gnostic, Serdas.

B. His teaching.

1. General characteristics: -

- a. Central affirmation - antithesis between law and grace, god of O.T., god of N.T.
- b. Central authority - Paul.
- c. He is no Gnostic (as Harnack would claim).
 - 1) $\pi\iota\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$, not $\gamma\upsilon\omega\omicron\varsigma$ is his key-word.
 - 2) Lays no claim to secret, hidden writings.
 - 3) No claim to sharp distinction between spiritual insight for few, and the unsaved.
 - 4) No highly elaborated system of thought - rather presents specific affirmations.
 - 5) But shows Gnostic traces - ① dualism, ② anti-Judaism ③ rejection of O.T. God.

2. Doctrine:

a. Inadequacy of the old system (infl. by reading Galatians) in the O.T.

- 1) The law is bad - partakes of the character of the world, is a hindrance to man.
- 2) World is imperfect - bugs, death, malnutrition. No honor to its creator.
- 3) Creator not altogether bad, but limited in power, unable to get good world out of matter (which may be a principle of evil). Creator rather stupid, ineffectual.
 - a) Repented of the task when he saw he was unable to do it right.
 - b) Jealous of man's efforts to gain knowledge - to hinder man he lays down law and attaches punishment for disobedience.
- 4) Salvation passages in O.T. are inadequate - only earthly prosperity, not eternal salvation.

b. Need of a true gospel, the good news. (recension of N.T.)

- 1) True God is God of Redemption, not of justice and creation and law.
- 2) In love he sends Saviour, his Son and God Himself, in form of man, but not real body (docetic).
- 3) Christ's work was conflict with O.T. God, who secured his death on cross. Then descends to netherworld, wins the wicked, but not the O.T. saints who depend on law.
- 4) Christ founds completely new kpd - separated from created world.

C. Analysis of Documents: made his own canon.

a. Rejected O.T. same as true record of how world was created, governed.

b. Emended N.T. :- 1) Edited Luke; rejected other gospels.

2) Accepted Paul's epistles, but edited out "interpolations."

D. Results of Marcionite controversy: -

1. Led church to re-examine Nw writings; form its canon.
2. Led church to:
 - 1) identify Creator and Redeemer as same God.
 - 2) recognize both justice and mercy in God.

PART V. SOLIDIFICATION OF CHRISTIANITY

A. Christianity was solidified by the raising of three barriers against heresy:

1. The Canon: adopted vs. Marcionites and Ebionites.
2. Tightening church order and discipline - apostolic succession.
3. The Creed: Apostles' creed adopted vs. docetists.

B. The Apostles' Creed: used in Rome after 150 A.D.

1. Origin:

a. Token and countersign of church membership - used as password. Usually based on early NT statements, e.g. Peter's, "Thou art the X."

Paul's, "Jesus Christ is Lord."

b. Baptismal formula - natural confession of faith of new members

c. Initiatory formula: a) careful catechetical instruction.

b) Lenten instruction by Bishop (e.g. Cyril) - lectures to illuminati, accompanied by fastings and vigils.

c) Baptismal ceremony - 1) Unclothed, cleansed with oil.

(Easter)

2) Formula of renunciation of Satan, claiming Christ.

3) Repeats baptismal creed.

4) Immersed 3 times, repeats creed, attends eucharist.

2. Development of creed. (not "Apostles' creed")

a. Evidence: 400 Rufinus' Commentary. Latin:

336 Marcellus of Ancona (in Epiphanius' haer. 52 al. 72)

250 can be traced with certainty to middle of century (Novatian, de trim.)

200 Tertullian - same as above.

185 Irenaeus - approx. quotes same Roman creed

[Not in Ignatius, only fragments]

[Not in Justin, where you'd expect it (here)]

b. The Creed: "I believe in God (the Father), ^{Almighty} ~~maker of heaven and earth~~ and in Jesus Christ his [only begotten] son, the very one who was born of [the Holy Spirit and] the Virgin Mary, who was crucified by Pontius Pilate and buried; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit, [the Holy Church], [the forgiveness of sins], the resurrection of the body.

* Quoted from Calhoun's notes. [] indicate passages in Marcellus (336 A.D.) but omitted by Calhoun, who says, the "holy church + forgiveness of sins" may have been in original version. Calhoun follows Mc Giffert, p. 157.

Apostles' creed, with
omissions, is traceable
to old Roman creed
of 150 A.D., probably
from Greek baptismal form.

3. Reasons for creed's adoption: two theories.

* a. Polemical - as defense vs. docetism, - Marcionites, Gnostics.

- 1) Emphasis on clause about Jesus on earth - anti-Gnostic.
- 2) "Resurrection of the flesh" - vs. Marcion and Gnostics who thought of spirit freed from the flesh.
- 3) McGiffert perhaps wrong in stating that most natural context for "holy church" and "forgiveness of sins" clauses is the Decian persecution (250 a.d.), for these were then being hotly debated. More probably in original creed.

b. As summary for preachers and missionaries - not polemical.

- 1) But if so, inexplicable are the omissions of indispensable doctrines of Christ's saving work, redemption; Christian ethic and duty; relation of faith & law; regeneration etc.
- 2) Above points not in debate at time. Marcion accepted them all.

c. Conclusion: Athanasius's creed was anti-Marcionite symbol. Adopted like Nicaea and Chalcedon for a specific issue, was not superseded until another heresy appeared - Arianism which called forth the Nicaea creed.

Part VI. LEADERS VS. ABERRANT CHRISTIANITY + PAGANISM

I. IRENÆUS (185 A.D.)

- Intro:
1. Emigrated from Asia Minor (disc. of Polycarp) to Lyon, Gaul. Becomes bishop.
 2. Importance: a) Mediated between East + West - Easter controversy, revivalism.
b) First church theologian: - (1) Apostolic canon, creed, bishop.
(2) United ethical + religious; legal + mystic = Catholic.
 3. Works: * Adversus Haereses (ca. 185)
Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching

A. Polemics against Heresy (Gnostic).

1. Against numbers. Ridicules heretics' use of Scripture + numbers. Numbers arise out of order, not vice-versa. Neo-Pythagoreans are just inflating their own ego.
2. Inconsistencies. e.g. a) Valentinus has Logos-Word existing sometimes as Silence.
b) Πληρωμα is pure spirit, ∴ 1 substance. Yet Logos ignorant of Father. Sophia is rebelling, etc. How can oil and difference exist in Πληρωμα if it is 1 substance?
c) If Demiurge made world acc. to ideal model (the Πληρωμα), what was Πληρωμα's model.

B. Defense of Orthodoxy.

1. Apostolic canon - scriptures of O.T. and N.T. are decisive. (But N.T. limits no more firmly fixed at end of 2d c. than at beginning. e.g. Irenaeus used Hermas as canonical). Inspiration is directly ascribed to scriptures (1. 28.2; iii, 16.2, 9), as legacy of primitive Xty.
2. Apostolic creed - "cannon of truth," necessary because heretics also used scripture, but misinterpreted it. Traced creed back thru apostles to Christ (1. iii, preface; v preface; i. 10.1)
3. Apostolic episcopacy - necessary because creed could also be misinterpreted and expanded.
 - a. Bishops as "successors of the apostles" (1. iv. 26.5). But still all believers are priests; and the episcopacy is not hierarchical, merely the bearer of the truth. The church is not "essentially the episcopacy."
 - b. Pre-eminence of Rome (1) as pre-eminent city of Empire, (2) founded by Peter and Paul. (3) clear record of succession (4) centrality made it easy of correction (5) largest church and greatest martyrdoms.

C. Theology

1. God is One (vs. Gnostics) and Creator (separation of God + creator was fundamental Gnostic error).
 - a. Just and merciful both.
 - b. Creator of both form and matter of world. Not mere shaper of already existing stuff (Demiurge).
 - c. Wholly mind (vovs), word (logos). Light, life eternally - not first one, then another as Gnostics.
 - d. Living Trinity

2. Creation.

a. World is created good, with harmony of its different parts, e.g. night and day.

b. Man

- 1) Image of God - free, intelligent capacity for immortality.
- 2) God's law (i.e. natural law & Decalogue) implanted in his heart. Freedom according to this implanted pattern.
- 3) God's covenants with man (progressive) - Adamic, Mosaic, Love in Jesus Christ. Sometimes incl. Noah.
- 4) Free will - power of choice to obey or not obey. Free both in works and faith. Faith is voluntary.

3. Salvation

a. Necessary because of Adam's fall (First of Fathers to emphasize the Fall - McQ.)

- 1) Brought man under control of Satan, though still free to obey the law in his heart.
- 2) Deprived him of divine likeness, i.e. immortality. ∴ brought death.

b. Two stages in salvation :-

1) Release from control of Satan by Christ's perfect obedience - work of recapitulation, does right all that Adam did wrong. ἀνακεφαλαιώσις = recapitulation.

- a) The death of Christ - (1) crowning act of X's obedience
(2) recapitulation of Adam's fall.
(3) ransom paid to Satan for man's release.

legalism →

b) Release involves the necessity of righteousness, for to fall again to Satan is unforgivable. No second chance. Righteousness is obedience to the law of God: natural not ceremonial law.

c) Three-fold revelation in Jesus Christ :-

- (1) Reveals man to himself - sees his badness & possibility of goodness.
- (2) Reveals God to man
- (3) Reveals man to God - God sees man as good.

2) The attainment of immortality - ἀθανασία

- a) Man re-acquires the divine nature - God became man, so man might become God.
- b) Salvation includes both body and spirit - resurrection of the body.
- c) Basis - union of divine and human in Jesus Christ. Complete identification of God and Son (λογος)

c. Attainment of salvation - combination of divine grace and human merit.

1) By obedience - legalistic release from Satan

2) By union with God - mystical participation in immortality through (a) faith - divine grace.
(b) knowledge
(c) sacraments - human merit.

4. Christology - high. Christ both true God and true man. Necessary for salvation.

5. Communion of saints :-

- a. Present :- unity in love and the sacraments
- b. Future - unity (ένωσις) in millennial paradise.

II. MONTANISM (150 to 350 ca.)

- A. Origin - Montanus, priest of Cybele, converted to Xty, zealous to reform church. Heard voices, claimed to be unique organ of H.S. 2 women disciples:
- B. Doctrinally orthodox, except for paraclete emphasis.
1. Claimed prophetic revelations and trances. Revelation not final with J.X., for Montanus is the paraclete. Heresy.
 2. Chiliasm - premillennial chronology. (1) age of law - infancy.
(2) age of Xty and apostles - youth
(3) age of Montanus - maturity.
- C. Ethically ascetic. Shun world, court martyrdom.
1. Severe fasting
 2. No worldly amusements - theater, games, etc.
 3. Strict chastity - no second marriages.
- D. Ecclesiastically anti-hierarchical. Led to distrust by ch. d.
- E. Results:
1. Brought the gift of prophesying into disrepute. Aided closing of canon.
 2. Hastened by reaction tendency of church to moral laxity - double standard for clergy + laity gradually emerged.
 3. Discredited chiliasm.
 4. Strengthened by its excesses ecclesiastical organization, power of bishops.

III. MONARCHIANISM

Introduction: (1) Originated as defense of monothism reconciled with deity of Christ.

(2) Two-fold principle to reconcile X's deity + monothism -

(a) Making the man Jesus the bearer of the divine spirit. [Jesus ≠ Christ]

(b) Recognizing in Christ the person of the Father himself.

A. Dynamistic Monarchianism (adoptionism). e.g. Paul of Samosata, ca. 260.

1. Theodotus the Fuller, ca. 190. Excommunicated by Pope Victor.

a. Christ descends on virgin-born Jesus at baptism. Christ = λογος η δυναμις = impersonal p.

b. ∴ Jesus not God until baptism. Others, not until resurrection.

2. Paul of Samosata, ca. 260. Deposed as bishop by Emp. Amelien, 272; excommunicated as heretic by synod of Antioch, 269. His opponent - Melchior. Also condemned - ὁμοουσιος

a. Jesus is virgin-born man in whom dwells divine Wisdom.

b. The divine Wisdom is not a separate hypostasis, but exists in God as reason exists in man.

c. Jesus' union with God was thru the indwelling λογος was a moral union, achieved by purity and righteousness, not a natural union. Union of purpose, not metaphysics.

Nominalism -> ↓

3. Chief emphases: -

a. Unconditioned unity of God - λογος is not separate hypostasis.

b. Adoptionism - Spirit (Christ, λογος, power) descends on the man Jesus.

B. Modalistic Monarchianism (patripassionism, Sabellianism). e.g.

1. Praxeas, ca. 180. - patripassionism. Opposed by Tertullian. Adv. Prax..

a. Father and the Son is one and the same. Jesus Christ = God. ∴ Father was born and suffered.

b. God in his spiritual existence is the Father; in his material (fleshly) existence the Son.

2. Noetus of Smyrna, ca. 200. - "The Son of God is his own Son, and not another's."

3. Sabellius

a. God is a unity (monad), but for purpose of creation ^{and redemption} he assumes three forms or modes:

1) Father - O.T. creator and law-giver.

2) Son - N.T. man and Redeemer

3) Spirit - descends on apostles. Sanctifier.

} "3 names in one object (hypostasis)"

} n - one person wearing 3 masks.

b. Not succession of modes, but all 3 are eternal, just as sun is round, bright, warm at same time.

4. Spread to Roman popes - Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus. Opposed by Hippolytus who was charged with Ditheism.

C. Anti-monarchian Confession of Faith at Antioch, 267. (vs. Paul of Samosata)

1. God came in human nature ($\phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma \zeta\upsilon\theta\omega\pi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$)
2. Jesus Christ is God by being and nature ($\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha \kappa. \upsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$).

[Though condemned, Paul refused to give up keys, and was protected by Zenobia until she was defeated by Aurelian. Then Paul was elected as bishop of Antioch.]

[Harnack, with his anti-metaphysical prejudice defends Paul's attempt at positing the moral identity of God without metaphysical obscuration]

D. Analysis of Monarchianism : - (Seeberg)

1. Weakness:

- a. Lacks due prominence to scriptural idea of redemption
- b. Fails to make clear historical significance of person & words of Jesus.

2. Strength:

- a. Emphasis on personal unity of God and attempt to reconcile this with the deity of X.
- b. Attempt to establish the divine-human nature of Christ from point of view of will and personal life, not 2 natures (esp. Paul of Samosata)
Moral and volitional, not metaphysical unity.
- c. Genuine insistence on full divinity of Christ.

IV. TERTULLIAN (160-220 A.D.)

Introd: 1) Well-to-do lawyer converted in middle age

2) Spiritual pilgrim: a) Stoic

b) Christian - vs. Marcionite dualism and paganism.

c) Montanism - vs. lukewarm, worldly Xty.

3) General temper: anti-philosophical, anti-speculative: "Credo quia absurdum", "that has Athens to do with Jesus"

A. Doctrine of God.

1. Only one God - Monarchians right here vs. Marcionite splitters of God.

a. Logically - God is supreme: only one. If gods are equal - indistinguishable; if unequal, one is supreme

b. Empirically - universe is one harmonious whole.

2. But God is also three. (Tert's answer to Marcion, Monarchians, Gnostics) First clear presentation in West.

a. God is *trinitas* in *oikonomia*, one in *protepsis*. Economic trinity - trinitas administration or executive control of the universe. Father, Son, Spirit have differing functions.

b. Trinitarian formula: three persons who are or share one substance.

1) *Substantia* - basis for man's legal identity in society. e.g. a king's substance is what constitutes his kingship. God's substance = kingship of world.

2) *Persona* - a) legal sense: a functional individual, man or corporation. "Party of 1st part."

b) dramatic sense: a role on stage, or mask. One role may be played by 2 actors, or vice versa. 3 *Persona* in functional roles, not essential being.

c. Metaphorical explanations of the trinity: -

1) Son = *logos* i.e. mind of Father given expression. Mind of God is eternal, but its expression has beginning at creation. Mind uttered as created word. (Poem metaphor)

2) Son related to father as root to trunk, or trunk to fruit. One whole, yet distinguishable.

3) Like mouth, stream and source of river - all one.

4) Like relation of mind, thought, word. Mind expresses self in thinking and speaking.

d. Possibility of difference in unity: -

1) (a) *οὐσία* = essential being - can have differences within God.

(b) *ὑπόστασις* = one individual being - can't have these differences.

} considered same in Tert's time but he begins to distinguish.

2) Differences in rank, but not difference in status of being God. Subordinationist. Father 1st, Son 2nd proceeding from Father, Spirit 3rd at ascension of Son.

e. Doctrine of Holy Spirit - coordinate with Father, but not identifiable with human leaders.

Middle-of-road Montanism - H.S. + enthusiasm important, but not localized.

B. God's Relation to World and Man.

1. To world: -

a. God created orderly and harmonious world. (vs. Marcion + Gnostics)

b. World created ex nihilo. (vs. Hermogenes)

2. Man and Sin.

- a. Created 1) body and soul - body by God's hand, plastic fluid to receive life.
- soul by God's breath; makes man living, rational, immortal being
- 2) difference from vegetable life, e.g. trees. Man has freedom and immortality.
- b. Man fell in Adam - originally sinless, but able to sin, Adam sinned; soul became irrational.
- c. Adam's sin inherited thru transmitted soul. Traducianism.
 - 1) Soul is propagated with body by parents; not pre-existent.
 - 2) Hence when Adam's soul became tainted with irrationality, all future souls inherited the taint.
(This is implicit doctrine of original sin, but doctrine not developed by T.; original taint does not wholly destroy freedom to do right, acc. to Tertullian; hence every man is responsible for his own sins.)
 - 3) The result - all are in an actually hopeless, tho theoretically curable, state of sin. Original sin.
- d. Sin is seated in the will, not the flesh, and its essence is disobedience to divine law.

3. Jesus Christ and Salvation

a. Jesus Christ became incarnate for our salvation - this understood wrong by heretics, needs explanation:

- 1) It is Son, not Father, who became incarnate. (vs. Monarchians)
- 2) It's a human body and soul Jesus takes (vs. Docetists)
 - a) Body - seed of body from human parentage.
 - b) Soul - seed of soul is divine spirit or Logos. S
 - c) Spirit - 2 senses: (1) natural capacity of soul to breathe. Soul as agent of respiration.
(2) prophetic sense, agent of prophetic ecstasy. Only given to some thru divine action.
- 3) ∴ J.X. is one person with 2 natures: (1) one persona - 1 functional individual.
(2) two natures: (a) divine spirit.
(b) human body and soul (natural, vital principle).

4) Vague on just how salvation is perfected in J.X.

- a) Takes on curse
- b) Breaks power of devil.
- c) Weights the balance with divine influence vs. devil's influence over us.

b. Man has capacity for getting grace - grace changes tree to produce good fruit. Freedom ∴ backsliding possible.

4. The Christian Life.

- a. Baptism - no virtue in water as such, but God chooses it as vehicle for his spirit to enter and dominate the baptized. ∴ He becomes new being. Water is catalytic agent, not automatic or magical. Martyrdom is second all-efficacious baptism.
- b. Post-baptismal sin - even after baptism most men will fall away.
 - 1) Mortal sin - one forgiveness after baptism. e.g. idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery
 - 2) Venial sin - pardon thru Christ. e.g. unjust anger, swearing, lying.
- c. Repentance and confession necessary for forgiveness: 1) Public confession

2) Works of satisfaction - fasting, humiliation

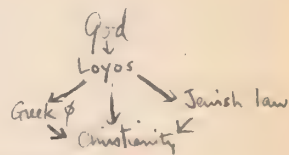
5. Eschatology all dead to Hades until judgment day except martyrs. Chiliasm.

V. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (ca. 200)

- Introd:
- 1) Pupil of Pantænus, and teacher of Origen at Alexandria catechetical school. Head of school 189-203.
 - 2) Flees Alexandria in 203 under Severus persecution.
 - 3) General temper: - easy-going, unheroic, learned, liberal; not prophetic or courageous. Ethical, not metaphysical.
 - 4) Works: a) Προπαιδευτικός τῆς Ἑλλάδος, (Exhortation to Heathen) - one of few evangelistic tracts of period extant.
b) Παιδαγωγός (The Instructor) - elementary manual of Xn manners and morals.
c) ΣΤΡΩΜΑΤΕΙΣ (Miscellanies) - defense of philosophy and theology.

A. General Outline of Thought.

1. Truth is from God thru Logos, wherever found. ∴ true philosophy is valid.
 - a) Stoics, Epicureans no good, but Plato stole from Moses - still good.
 - b) Philosophy rightly used lifts the believing Xn to become a gnostic (knowing) Christian.
2. Two classes of Christians:
 - a) Believing Christian saved by simple faith. Faith is primary and adequate, but -
 - b) Gnostic Christian who understands inwardly his salvation. Outer faith must lead to inner knowledge.
3. Knowledge (i.e. disposition of mind focused on truth, not mere possession of information) leads to pure and holy living.
 - a) Ideal of true gnostic is likeness to God. (This is Clement's major emphasis)
 - 1) Self-control (σοφροσύνη) - control of the passions, aided to stability by Logos. } moderation, not asceticism.
 - 2) Passionlessness (ἀπάθεια) - Stoic ideal of entire elimination of passions.
 - 3) Practice of mercy, kindness, love for God and man. Love. (Positive virtue.)
 - b) Life of prayer
 - c) Loyalty to the church - salvation only in connection with the church; knowledge only within tradition.



B. Specific Doctrines (Clement not a systematic theologian).

1. Doctrine of God.

- a. Philosophical concept - God is Absolute, "Being beyond nature".
 - 1) Totally other, utterly transcendent, infinite.
 - 2) Incomprehensible, save by abstraction - for He is without attributes. We don't know what he is, but we do know what he is not.
- b. Religious concept - God has made himself known thru the Logos, otherwise unknowable. (see some)
 - 1) Creator of the world, providential ruler of the universe.
 - 2) Loving and gracious being who cares for and saves men.

2. Christology

- a. The Logos of God is Christ, God's son, eternal mind of God bring coherent unity out of diversity.
 - 1) The Logos is God, but not the Absolute; - rather, he is God in relation. (McG.)
 - 2) The Logos is Redeemer of all men, bringing good out of evil.
 - 3) Logos is co-eternal with God (vs. Tertullian), but subordinate, i.e. works "by will of Father".
Power is grounded in the Father, mediated by the Logos.

- b. Incarnation - Logos became incarnate, but Clement is practically (not theoretically) a docetist (Sorbes)
3. Holy Spirit - not personal (no personal trinity), but magnetic energy attracting men to God.
Clement's God is Father + Son; not Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
4. Doctrine of man and salvation
- Man is a sinner, disobeys God thru weakness and ignorance. But —
 - Man is free. Clement emphasizes man's freedom to obey or disobey God.
 - Man is brought back to God by the Logos, the Great Teacher. Three types of human response:—
 - Acceptance of law implanted in mind by Logos. Salvation thru illumination.
 - Ignorance. When awareness comes, then repentance.
 - Willful disobedience. Punishment — but only as corrective, not vindictiveness.
[Clement doesn't say whether he expects all to be saved]
 - Sacraments:
 - Baptism important in making one a member of the church + participant in salvation.
 - Eucharist makes participant in immortality; fellowship with Christ.
5. Eschatology - all culminates in glorious vision of God; resurrection of the body.

VI ORIGEN (ca. 185-250)

- Introd. } "Origen was for the East what Tertullian was for the West." (Seeley, I. 171)
- 1) Origen is more positive than Clement, but Clement is more Christian than Origen (Seeley, I. 146).
 - 2) Temper: - highly original and creative thinker; fanatical, heroic, stern; tremendously erudite.
 - 3) Head of Alex. catechetical school at 18 (Eusebius); wrote 6000 books (Jerome).
 - 4) Greatest work theologically - De Principiis. First systematic theology, but orthodoxized in Rufinus' Latin translation.

A. General Outline of Thought

1. Basis - Scripture alone: (a) needed critical text. Result - the Hexapla. Hebrew, LXX + versions compared.
(b) Method of interpretation: - absolute adherence to church's creed, but allegorical.
 - 1) Primary principle - God author only of good. Whole Scripture must do no violence to this.
 - 2) Allegorical method: three-fold meaning - like man's body, soul + spirit.
 - a) Somatic (bodily) - literal sense
 - b) Psychic (soul) - moral sense
 - c) Pneumatic (spirit) - spiritual and highest sense
 - d) Topological - Scriptural cross-references.

rooted in neo-Pythagorean number mysticism; Stoic allegory, and Platonic idea - God is perfect goodness.

2. Doctrine of God

- a. His nature:
 - 1) Good, never author of evil. God is the Perfect, not the Absolute. The Self-Determined.
 - 2) Ultimate ground, and father of all - but not as absolute, rather as perfect in harmony. Not without attributes, but rather full of richness + coherence. (vs. Clement)
 - 3) Incorporeal spirit, but a personality
 - 4) Incomprehensible - not due to his nature, but our finiteness. Yet known by his works.

b. Way of approach to God.

- 1) Analysis or Abstraction - negative way: deny finite attributes one by one.
- 2) Synthesis - affirm all perfections. Perfection of anything is derived from God: God is perfecting of what we see.
- 3) Analogy - there is in God in an eminent degree all the good we can find in finite things.
- 4) Revelation - this is basic with Origen. With this first, the others can follow. Bible + Creed.

c. The Logos - mirrors God as God does. Sometimes called $\Sigma\phi\omega\iota\alpha$.

- 1) Essential attributes:
 - a) Wisdom and Life - as agent of creation
 - b) Word and Truth - as agent of light.
- 2) Temporal (accidental) qualities: connected with work of redemption - God-Man, Incarnate Word, etc. Not characteristic in eternity, but taken on self by virtue of historical events.
- 3) Relation to God - co-eternal, divine, yet subordinate. Dependent on God as an image on the original; yet God Father also ontologically dependent on the son. Uses word $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\iota\alpha$ - claimed by both Arius and Athanasius.
- 4) Incarnation:
 - a) Logos could not directly assume human body - unlikeness too great.
 - b) Unites with a created spirit who had purged self worthy by life of virtue.
 - c) This spirit + Logos born as human body, advanced step by step to deity.

d. Theodicy - Origen preserved the justice of God by 2 concepts:

- 1) Man fell before coming to earth - as pre-existent spirit. Explains universality of sin; inequality of opportunities.
- 2) Ultimate salvation for all - even devil. Origen is father of universalism.

d. The Trinity - like Tertullian's economic trinity. "Origen closer than most fathers to trinitarianism" - C.

a. All things have being from the Father (Creator)

b. Rational things get rationality from the Son.

c. Holy, rational beings get holiness from Spirit.

} all are ὁμοούσιοι, i.e. identical in existential character.

} Thus co-existent, yet existentially subordinate.

} perfectly harmonious in nature and will; identical in essential being

3. Doctrine of creation.

a. Two parts to universe: 1) material - temporal } created, yet not in time, eternal. Hence -
2) spiritual - eternal } perpetual creation (Comb. of Gk. + Xn. concepts)

b. Nature of Spiritual universe: (perhaps derived from neo-platonist Ammonius Saccus.

1) Composed of rational spirits - free because rational, perfect and equal. Free will.

2) Three classes of these spirits: a) good angels - chose virtue

b) bad angels (demons) - chose evil.

c) men - chose middle course. Adam only typical, not original.

c. Physical universe created in time as place for training and saving men.

4. Doctrine of salvation.

a. Perpetual creation and redemption thru successive aeons. Men gradually rise or fall. Some fall as low as sticks or stones - but eventually all are saved.

b. Logos absorbed human soul - then becomes finite body in Jesus.

c. Jesus - both Teacher and Redeemer: -

1) Teacher - instructs by teaching and example. Shows rewards + punishments; opens up depths of wisdom to come.

2) Redeemer - appears before devil after death; overcomes him by redhance of his glory. Frees captives.

3) God offers devil soul of Xt in return for lost, knowing devil unable to hold Xt.

d. Salvation = restoration of fallen spirits to original likeness with God, by: 1) instruction of the Logos
2) Sanctification of the Spirit.

e. Man's part in salvation: 1) Faith, i.e. acceptance of the doctrines of the church. Both by free will and God's grace.

2) Works - salvation + happiness depends even more on good works.

3) Knowledge - higher stage in the Xn life than mere faith. (cf. Clement of Alex.)

5. Eschatology - a) anti-premillennial. Spiritualized the future life.
b) universalist.

Two sides of Origen's thought: 1) Subordinationism - Son mirrors or images the Father.

2) Equalitarianism - Son and Father are ὁμοούσιοι (this term is debated in Origen).

At all events Origen used the idea of ὁμοούσιοι.

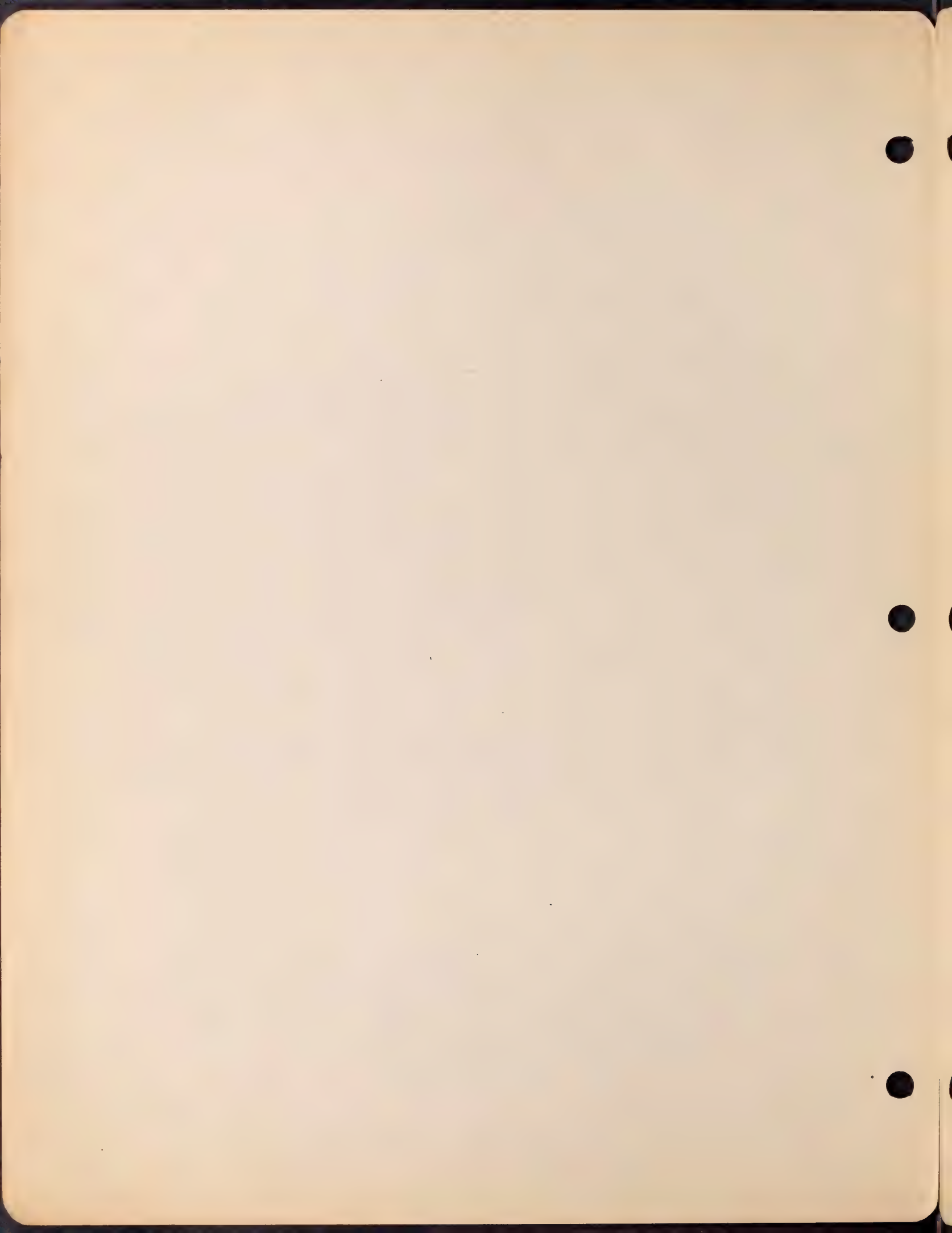
ANTE-NICENE THEOLOGY - GENERAL.

A. Christology

1. Monarchianism loses out to subordinatism - e.g. the two Dionysii.
2. Average 3rd c. faith: - pre-temporal Son of God, conceived of in a subordinatistic way, became a real man.
3. Normative views:
 - a. Tertullian in West - one person with two natures.
 - b. Origen in East - $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, soul of Jesus, body constitute one unity. But, fails to achieve real unity, for Jesus' divinity cannot suffer, only his humanity. After ascension divine absorbs human.

B. The Church

1. Basic position:
 - 1) The Church is the body of men who believe the truth.
 - 2) The Church is the holy people of God.
2. Three interpretations of the holiness of the church.
 - a. Novatian - Each separate individual is holy.
 - b. Cyprian - The bishops are holy.
 - c. Rome - The sacraments and ordinances are holy.
3. History of the development of the concept: -
 - a. Callistus (217-222) in publication of new penitential order establishes Catholic church concept:
 - 1) Church no longer holy people of God holding common apostolic faith, but: -
 - 2) Church is association of men subject to control of bishop by virtue of episcopal authority to pardon or retain sin. This becomes universally recognized by 250.
 - b. Cyprian (+ 258) further develops the concept in treating penitence of lapsi.
 - i) Controversies - a) with Novatian on episcopal authority vs. presbyters in pardoning lapsi.
 - b) with Novatian on episcopal primacy vs. totally pure church. Cornelius vs. Novatian.
 - c) Assembly of bishops at Carthage establish episcopal authority. A.D. 252.
 - 2) Cyprian's concept of the church. (Seeberg I. 180 ff.) Essence: subjection to bishops.
 - a. Bishops are successors of historic apostolate, \therefore legitimate teachers of apot. tradition (Irenaeus c).
 - b. Bishops also are inspired prophets, with charismata, hence authoritative (not in Irenaeus)
 - c. The church is founded on the bishop, who rules the kate, and offers sacrifice (this is just appearance of actual priesthood of the clergy.)
 - d. The episcopacy constitutes the unity of the church. Unity + equality of bishops. [He rejects primacy of Stephanus of Rome (Seeb. I. 183)]
 - e. No salvation outside the church. "It is not possible that he should have God for his father who has not the church for his mother."

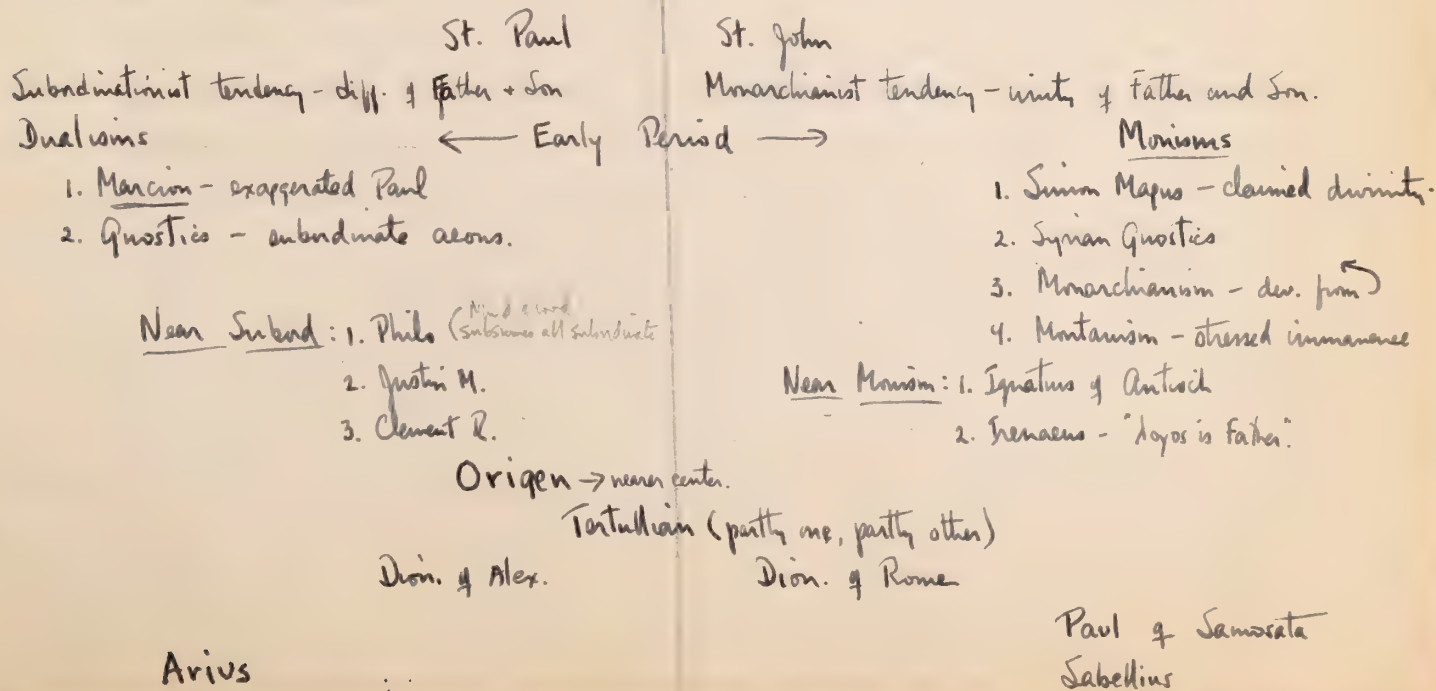


PART VI. TWO STREAMS OF THOUGHT (Rel. of Father + Son)

I. Example: The Two Dionysii - Dionysius of Alexandria, and Dionysius of Rome.

1. Dionysius of Alexandria opposes spreading Sabellianism, emphasizes subordination elements in Origen.
2. Orthodox Alexandrians, suspicious, accuse him of heresy - write Dionysius of Rome.
 - a. The charges - he teaches: 1) The Son is not eternal, for there was time when he was not.
 - 2) Division of the Son from the Father.
- b. This shows orthodox formula already well established, i.e. 1) eternal generation of the son.
2) ὁμοουσιος - same in substance clause.
3. Dionysius of Rome replies to D. of Alex. in friendly way; takes typical Roman attitude: -
 - a. Creed (Roman symbol) regarded as a fixed quantity and adequate.
 - b. Tertullian's apparatus of formulas is considered helpful.
 - c. Subject itself discussed as little as possible, since conclusion is supposed already reached. He says:
 - 1) Divine Unit (monad) must not be split; there is close union of both Son and Spirit with Father - both Trinity and Monarchy.
 - 2) Son was not created being, nor did he have a temporal beginning.
4. Dionysius of Alexandria quickly denies he taught heresies he's charged with - agrees with Rome. This indicates that theological terms were still fluid, issues undecided, but general uniformity is beginning to appear.

II. General Development of Two Tendencies: -



III. Misunderstandings showed need for clearer formulas: -

1. Need for new creed - to avoid extreme subordinationism or extreme monarchianism. Nicaea
2. Need for word-study of οὐσία
 - a) Philosophically had three meanings: (1) Substratum - i.e. matter, shape, individual thing (Aristotle)
(2) Universal character
(true meaning) → (3) Essence - τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, being what it was; φύσις.
 - b) Later it was used in any of these three ways: - (led to misunderstanding)
 - (1) Substratum - same stuff. Materialist
 - (2) Individual thing. Monarchian
 - (3) Essence - Platonic + Arist. This was correct.
 - c) Added confusion - οὐσία and ὑποστάσις used interchangeably.

IV. Summary of Differences Growing Between West and East. (Seeberg - p. 198, I)

1. Characteristics of the West - Pauline: "Salvation of souls."

- a. Sacramental grace.
- b. Legal conception of relationship between God and man
- c. Combination of a+b in concentration of religion on the salvation of souls.
- d. Subjection of the soul to the control of the hierarchical church for salvation.
- e. But sacraments in hierarchy are held in balance by the merits of the individual.
- f. Formulas of Tertullian and authority of the Apostle's Creed.

[West stresses: 1) preservation of right relation to God and church.
2) the way man can come to God
3) celibacy.

2. Characteristics of the East - Johannine: "Up to the heights!"

- a. Emphasis on "orthodoxy", and delight in metaphysical speculation, e.g. Logos Christology.
- b. Fixing of immortality as the practical goal.
- c. Mystical conception of the work of Christ as being born in us, dwelling in us, permeating us with spiritual life.
- d. Theological formulas of Origen.

[East stresses: 1) Pure doctrine, i.e. abstract formulas
2) celibacy.

3. Original Christian ideas of (1) life with God in Christ
(2) intercourse of heart with God thru repentance, faith } now (3rd c.) lost in background,
tho in 2nd c. still strong.

PART VII. DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSY

I. THE TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY (ARIAN).

Introd.: 1. Central question - the essential deity of the Logos. Two views: -

- 1) High Christology - the Logos is the eternal Son of God, not created but begotten.
 - 2) Low Christology - the Logos is generated by will of Father, hence possibly time when Son was not.
2. Importance of the question - not metaphysical speculation, but practical and religious: Christ must be conceived of as in nature and character capable of bestowing the new divine life upon men.

A. ARIUS - pupil of Lucian of Antioch, who followed Paul of Samosata.

1. Doctrine:
 - a. God is absolutely transcendent and indivisible, unbegotten. (Monarchian principle).
 - b. Logos is (1) first of created beings, pre-mundane but not eternal. (Different from Logos of Father)
(2) ∴ subordinate to Father, and of different οὐσία
(3) agent of creation, though a creature himself. Capable of falling, but doesn't.
 - c. Incarnation - Jesus Christ had human body, but Logos was his soul. No human soul.
[Preserves unity of God, but introduces mythology of heroes and demigods - Seeberg I, 204]
2. Results of this doctrine.
 - a. A.D. 318 conflict breaks out in Alexandria. Bishop Alexander drives Arius to Palestine + Bythine.
 - b. Arius supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia (fellow pupil under Lucian), and Eusebius of Caesarea who mistakenly thinks Arius is defending subordination vs. Sabellianism.
 - c. Emperor Constantine, disturbed by conflict, calls Council of Nicaea.

B. THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA, 325 A.D. (First Ecumenical Council)

1. About 318 bishops (6 of total) present - predominantly Eastern. Constantine delivers opening address.
2. Three Parties: -

- a. The Orthodox (Anti-Arian) Party. Headed by Alexander, Hosius (friend of Emperor), Athanasius of Alexandria. Held to deity of Christ, but denied patri-passionism.
 - 1) Son was begotten not by mere will, but very necessity of divine nature, ∴ is eternal.
 - 2) Son is identical in substance with Father - ὁμοούσιος.
 - 3) Escape from Sabellianism by emphasizing distinction of personality between Father, Son.
- b. The Arian Party. Headed by Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia. 15 Followers
 - 1) Son is created in time - there was time when Son was not
 - 2) Christ had true human body, but not true human soul. Incomplete humanity (Apollinarianism)
 - 3) The incarnate Logos is finite, but should be worshiped, for he's no ordinary creature.
- c. Moderate Party (Semi-Arian?) - led by Eusebius of Caesarea. Great majority.
 - 1) Rejected Arian views of Son's creation, different essence.
 - 2) Invented term ὁμοιούσιος - of similar but not same essence.

3. The Creeds

- a. Arians present creed--no copy extant, but so frankly Arian it shocks Eusebius of Caesarea. Overwhelmingly rejected.
- b. Eusebius of C. proposes his baptismal symbol--affirms both pre-existence and deity of Son of God incarnate in Christ, but silent on points of dispute:

"We believe in one God, Father almighty, the maker of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Logos of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Son only begotten, first born of every creature, before all the ages from the Father begotten, through whom also all things were made, who for our salvation became flesh and lived among men and suffered and rose again the third day and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge quick and dead. And we believe also in one Holy Spirit."

- c. Orthodox party, instead of proposing new creed, only suggest alterations:

"We believe in one God, Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is from the substance of the Father (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς), God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father (ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ), through whom all things were made, both the things in heaven and the things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again on the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge quick and dead; and in the Holy Spirit. But those who say 'There was once when he was not,' and 'Before his generation he was not,' and 'He was made out of nothing'; or pretend that the Son of God is of another subsistence or substance (ἰσὶ ἑτέρας υἰοθεσίας ἢ οὐσίας), or created or alterable or mutable, the Catholic church anathematizes."

Note changes: "Logos" omitted for "Son".

- (2) "first born of every creature..." omitted as Arian sound.
 - (3) "was made man" for "lived among men" strengthens incarnat
 - (4) "true God", "not made", "from the substance of the Father", "of one substance"--stress real deity of Son.
4. Results: Revised formula adopted as Original Nicene Creed.
 - a. All but 7 accept the revised formula--all but Arius, Eusebius of Nico. etc.
 - b. Arius deposed by church, banished by Emperor

C. POST-NICENE CONTROVERSY

1. First Period: 325-328. Nicene party dominant
 - a. Hosius of Cordova in power; Arius in exile. Athanasius succeeds Bish. Alexander
 - b. 328 Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia allowed to return.
2. Second Period: 328-357. Rising influence of Arianism.
 - a. Arians, led by Eusebius of Nicomedia at court, attack Nicene leaders.
 - 1) Charge Eustachius of Antioch with Sabellianism and Adultery (bribed witness)
 - 2) 335 Athanasius exiled
 - 3) Charge Marcellus of Ancyra with Sabellianism, 336. Marcellus' doctrine:
 - a. God is Monad, expands to Diad (Son) and Triad (Spirit), after creation and sanctification returns to Monad. Folk-belief, not Sabell.
 - b. Marcellus goes to Rome, subscribes to Roman symbol, and is restored.
 - b. 341, attack shifts from persons to creed; flank attack thru alternative creeds:
 - a. 4 creeds adopted, 2nd is best--the Lucianic Creed: pre-Nicene, not anti
 - b. Contains formula: "unchangeable image of the Father".. perhaps a little touch of non-Arian thought.
 - c. political changes favor Arians: death of Constantine (337), Constans (350)
 - 1) Constantine's death leaves Empire to Constans in West (Nicene), and Constantius in East (Arian). Latter influenced by Eusebius of Nicomedia.
 - 2) Athanasius banished three more times, appeals to Rome.
 - 3) Death of Constans (350) leaves Empire to Arian Constantius.

d. Arian victory.

- 1) Constantius forces exile of Athanasius, Hosius of Cordova, Hilary of Poitiers, and Liberius, bishop of Rome. Nicene leaders defeated.
- 2) But Arians split and form, with conservatives, and Nicenes, five parties.
 - Arians { a) Anomoeans--Son unlike Father, i.e. extreme Arian. Aetius, Eunomius.
 - { b) Homoians--Son similar to Father. Official position after synod of Sirmium outlaws "ousia". Emperor Constantius, Valens of Myrsa, Ursacius.
 - Conservatives { c) Homoiousians--majority party of conservative Origenists, originally allied with Arians, now shifting to Nicenes. Wrongly called Semi-Arians. Basil of Ancyra, George of Laodicea, Cyril of Jerus.
 - (1) Started with Lucianic creed of 341: "exact image of Father" but not identical. Move to "similar in essence to Father".
 - (2) Feared both Subordinationism and Sabellianism.
 - Orthodox { d) Homooousians--Nicene party, solidly set in West. Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers. Join with new group:
 - { e) Neo-Nicene--Cappadocian Fathers: Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa
- 3) Third Sirmium Council (357) abrogates Nicene Creed with 2nd Sirmian formula
 - a) Dominated by Valens and Ursacius, politicians who need Imperial favor in their stormy border provinces.
 - b) Outlaws use of term "ousia" as unscriptural, ∴ Nicene creed invalid.
 - c) The creed ("The Sermian Blasphemy")--Son is similar to Father, Father is greater than Son

3. Third Period: 358-381. Restoration of Nicene Dominance.

- a. New party appears at synod of Ancyra, 358. Neo-Nicene. (Begin to draw sharper distinctions than original Nicenes, e.g. between ousia and hypostasis.?)
- b. Death of Constantius (361) loses Arians the court. Julian succeeds.
- c. Council of Alexandria (362) secures alliance of Homooousians, Homoiousians.
 - 1) Athanasius, concerned for real issue, not formulas, ready to admit two positions practically alike.
 - 2) Council justifies use of both "three hypostases" provided all are of same nature; and "one hypostasis" since many think ousia hypostasis
 - 3) Council affirms homooousia of the Spirit, vs. Macedonius of Constantinople
- d. Athanasius dies (373); Three Cappadocians take over orthodox leadership, distinguish between ousia and hypostasis, to avoid Sabellianism.
 - 1) οὐσία - essential being
 - 2) ὑπόστασις - individual being
 - 3) God is one οὐσία of three ὑποστάσεις (1 being, 3 persons). This allows use of ὁμοούσιος without Sabellian danger.
- e. Nicene Victory at Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople (381)

D. COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 381. (Second Ecumenical)

1. Called by Theodosius the Great, dominated by the Cappadocians.
2. Vindicates Nicene Creed, repudiating both Arians and Macedonians (56 of these made great bid to dominate council).
3. Results: 1) Only one essence in Godhead, i.e. one οὐσία.
 - 2) Three hypostases in Godhead. These more than Sabellian modes of manifestation, rather are modes of subsistence.
 - 3) Basic division of reality: (a) Creator God, (b) Created creatures.
4. Seeberg (I.232) criticizes Neo-Nicenes that under guise of reaffirming Nicene creed the Cappadocians lost the essential declaration that the Son is fully God, and God is wholly personal. For Athanasius' one God leading 3-fold personal life, they substitute three divine hypostases possessing one nature and one dignity since they manifest the same activity. They lost the idea of the personal God. Three personalities and an abstract, impersonal essence are the result.
5. The council did not frame the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed (see over)

E. NICEANO-CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED

1. Origin--not at Council of Constantinople

- a. Not mentioned as this council's creed until council of Chalcedon, 451; cited as early as A.D. 574 by Epiphanius
- b. Its basis is baptismal confession of church at Jerusalem, probably prepared by Cyril of Jerusalem.
- c. At first used side by side with Nicene creed, but by 500 had displaced it.

2. Content

- a. Adds "of whose Kingdom there is no end" to Son clause, cutting out Marcellus of Ancyra's concept of Son's reabsorption into Monad.
- b. Includes worship of Holy Spirit--repudiating Macedonians' denial of worship of the Spirit.
- c. Affirms Nicene Creed.

F. ATHANASIUS (ca. 300-373)

- Introd.
- 1) At ~~18~~ mature theologian, at 30 Bishop of Alexandria.
 - 2) Exiled five times.
 - 3) Reason for his leadership strength:
 - a) Stability and genuineness of character--firm for truth, no politics.
 - b) Strong foundation in unity of God--preserved him from subordinationism.
 - c) Saw importance of person of Christ as Redeemer. Had thought out consistent doctrine of redemption, and saw why each Arian maneuver must be rejected.
 - 4) Works: Contra Gentes
On the Incarnation of the Divine Word.
Exposition of Faith
- } written at age 20-22, yet gives essence of his unchanging theology.

1. Theology

a. Sources:

- 1) Bible, Origen, Plato (his favorite philosopher).
- 2) Influenced by works of Melecto, Asian theologian, which softened his Origenism by a Monarchian tendency: he belongs to the Origenist group which emphasizes monism, not subordinationism.

b. Doctrine of God.

- 1) Athanasius starts with the unity and transcendence of God. No Arian big and little Gods for him!
- 2) The deity of the Godhead is eternal and unchangeable. God does not become Father in time. Logos is co-eternal with God.
- 3) God becomes immanent and active in world thru Logos, by whom his will comes to expression. Logos is perpetually creative, maintaining order of universe.

c. Doctrine of Creation and Man

- 1) World is intrinsically good. Evil is the aberration of the wills of created beings, not characteristic of nature itself.
- 2) Man is uniquely created in image of God.
 - a) Image of God: man can know God and live blessedly.
 - b) Man not divine, yet has portion of power of Logos and can participate in God. (cf. Plato--forms make things be what they are)
 - c) Man is capable of receiving immortality.
- 3) But man turned away from God and thereby subjected himself to corruption:
 - a) Ontological decline--man loses headway in existence, disharmony and non-being tendency sets in.
 - b) Epistemological decline--man loses knowledge of God, which is inseparable from true life.
 - c) Result: Death.

d. Doctrine of Redemption

- 1) Redemption can be wrought by God alone. Athanasius insists that Logos is God, since only God can dissolve a divine decree and forgive sin.
- 2) Logos becomes man to redeem man--does five things:
 - a) Gives man immortality--pervades body and soul with divine power, lifts him to level of immortality.
 - b) Restores the image of God in man--Logos is the image of God.
 - c) As image of God, reveals God to man in an apprehendable form.
 - d) Offered his body as a sacrifice for man--breaks power of law over man with its death penalty. Resurrection proves his power over death.
 - e) Offered sacrifice to God for man--makes reconciliation possible.
- 3) The result: deification () and immortality, regarded as continuous process. Harmony displaces discord.
- 4) This new life apprehended by baptism, affirmed in the eucharist.

(over)

2. Athanasius' Attack on Arianism

- a. Primary difference: Arian is subordinationist
Athanasius tends to monism, emphasizes unity but distinct
- b. Arianism is logically incoherent:
 - 1) Arius says God is separate from creation, .. needs intermediate Logos. But then he makes the Logos a creature, and God still has not escaped contact with created beings.
 - 2) Arius says God is one, yet says that Logos can be called relatively God. Thus he introduces different grades of God.
- c. Arianism is religiously intolerable:
 - 1) Cuts at roots of Redemption. Only God can save, but Arius teaches salvation by a creature.
 - 2) Leads to idolatry. To worship a created being (Logos) is idolatry

G. THE THREE CAPPADOCIANS

Basil of Caesarea, organizer and administrator
Gregory of Nazianzen, preacher
Gregory of Nyssa, theologian (brother of Basil)

1. Position disputed. Harnack and (less) Seeberg assert that under guise of reaffirming the Nicene position they reinterpreted it and lost its essential declaration that the Son is fully God.
2. Starting point: three-fold personal life in Godhead. (Athanas. starts with unity)
3. Gregory of Nyssa's defense vs. charge that he preaches three Gods.
 - a. Men can be spoken of in plural--one genus with many members.
 - b. But God has no genus or species--number doesn't apply at all. The one and the three don't change--all work the same works.
 - c. Technically, though, to speak of men in plural is wrong. Different people are really only manifestations or instances of one manhood.
4. Gregory of Nyssa maintains the homoousia of the Spirit, vs. Macedonius.
 - a. There can be no degrees of deity. If H.S. is divine, he is fully God
 - b. One characteristic of deity found in all 3--"onlooking quality", i.e. God sees all.
 - c. Deity is a functional or operational, not an ontological term. We can't know the "ousia" of God.

II. THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY

Introduction:

1. Now that Nicene creed draws sharp distinction between God and man, how did the Son of God become man. When Irenaeus implied that full manhood was near deity, there was little problem, but now if there is an "infinite qualitative^{difference}" (Kierkegaard), how can one person have characteristics of both manhood and Godhead? = the problem.
 2. Theologically two chief centers of interest: Alexandria and Antioch.
 - a. Alexandria--metaphysical and mystical tendency:
 - 1) Emphasis on deity of Jesus; almost docetic, e.g. Athanasius, "Humanity a garment he put on."
 - 2) Tendency to blend the two natures; emphasis on unitary, single personality
 - b. Antioch--Biblical scholarship vs. Alexandrian allegorizing.
 - 1) Emphasis on humanity of Jesus.
 - 2) Tendency to separate human and divine into dual personality, destroy unitary personality.
 3. Ecclesiastical rivalry complicates the picture:
 - a. Rising power of Constantinople challenges Alexandria and Rome.
 - b. Rome's attitude: 1) Fearful of Constantinople, favors Antioch, Alexandria
2) But vacillates theologically, tending to Antiochans.
 4. Dogmatic note: true Christology must contain--
 - a. True deity
 - b. True, complete humanity
 - c. Single (unitary) personality.
 - d. Distinction, but not separation, of the two natures.
- A. Apollinarian Heresy - condemned at 2nd Ec. Council, Constantinople, 381
1. The heresy stated: Christ was incompletely human; had divine spirit.
 - a. Starts from premise: 2 complete natures can't become one.
 - b. ∴ human nature incomplete, blended with divine.
 - 1) Human body and soul
 - 2) But Logos replaces rational spirit
 - c. Reason for this--if Christ had human spirit, he couldn't be sinless.
 2. The heresy attacked:
 - a. Athanasius, his friend, insists that God assumes whole man.
 - b. The Cappadocians say Apollinarian misunderstands the issue, for two natures does not necessarily involve two persons.
 - 1) When we say divinity is other than his humanity, we do not say that a divine person is become another person. ^{See} like flame and candle, indistinguishable; or like drop of wine in ocean which is still all there, but swallowed up.
 - 2) The essential nature of man is not evil, so a human rational spirit would not necessarily make Christ sinful.
 3. The heresy condemned--Alexandria, 362; Constantinople 381; but it comes to be associated as Athanasian, two of its formulae are widely spread:
 - a. "One nature of the divine word was made flesh"--later monophysite idea.
 - b. "Mary Theotokos (Mother of God)"--came to be used authoritatively, produced the Nestorian controversy.

B. Nestorian Heresy - condemned at 3rd Ed. Council, Ephesus, 431.

1. The heresy stated: two natures of Christ remain separate; dual personality.
 - a. Objects to "Mary Theotokos" in liturgy:
 - 1) Mary is mother only of Christ's human nature, not of Logos.
 - 2) Logos assumes Christ's human nature. Logos has no mother.
 - b. Affirms 2 πρόσωπα in Christ (divine & human), but not 2 Sons or Christs.
 - 1) Nestorius means not 2 complete beings, but 2 manifestations united in one being, a divine-human person (see his Bazaar of Heraclides)
2. The heresy attacked:
 - a. Real point of controversy: was it the man Jesus controlled by Logos, or was it God himself, who was born, lived and died among us?
 - b. Cyril of Alexandria, to deflect criticism of himself, falsely charges Nestorius with denying deity of Christ. "Without Cyril there would have been no Nestorian controversy" (Loofs)
 - 1) Nestorius makes Jesus only a God-carrying man.
 - 2) Cyril's big contribution--historic unity of person of Jesus Christ.
 - c. Bp Coelestine of Rome backs Cyril at synod (430) denounces Nestorius but only in general terms. Nestorius produces counter-anathemas.
3. The heresy condemned midst confusion of two counter-councils, Ephesus, 431.
 - a. Both Nestorius and Cyril deposed by Emperor.
 - b. Peace restored when Antiochans abandon Nestorius and Cyril accepts a union-symbol prepared by Theodoret of Cyros. (Creed of Antioch)
 - 1) Includes following Antiochan contents:
 - a) Rejection of Apollinarianism
 - b) Recognition of the two natures.
 - c) ~~Acceptance of~~
 - 2) Includes following Alexandrian contents:
 - a) Recognition of the one person (relation to 2 natures unexplained)
 - b) Union of the two natures.
 - c) Acceptance of phrase "Θεοτοκος"
4. Real weaknesses in Nestorius:
 - a. If Logos assumed Christ's human nature, he took to himself another person and became two persons--or either he or Christ is impersonal.
 - b. Poor choice of term in πρόσωπα, by which he did not mean a complete person, but which had been used in Nicene as counterpart to Hypostasis; and which really means a mask in theatre, or outward manifestation. Nobody denies Jesus was outwardly one person--no significance to the affirmation.
5. Theology of Cyril of Alexandria:
 - a. Emphasis on the hypostatic unity of the person of Christ.
 - 1) Two complete natures unite, both remain unchanged and complete.
 - 2) Unity is achieved and maintained by means of the unity of the person, the Logos, uniting human with his own divine nature.
 - b. Interchange of properties--attributes of both natures in one person.
 - 1) Therefore God becomes capable of suffering /Communicatio idiomatum
 - 2) Therefore body of Christ is divine, returns to heaven.
 - 3) But both natures retain their own characteristics unmingled.

C. Eutychian Heresy - condemned at 4th Ec. Council, Chalcedon, 451. Monophysitism.

1. The heresy stated: two pre-incarnation natures fused into tertium quid.
 - a. Before incarnation, there existed the two separate natures.
 - b. After incarnation:
 - 1) Only one nature--the divine Logos, Jesus Christ.
 - 2) In Jesus Christ divine nature $\delta\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ with Father
 - 3) "He" is human flesh, but not $\delta\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ with us. No human $\delta\upsilon\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$ at all.
 - c. This is not even Cyrillic monophysitism: (but is extreme Alexandr. Xology)
 - a) Cyril taught general, universal humanity in Jesus, not individual personal humanity, thereby avoiding 2 centers of consciousness--Logos and man.
 - b) But Eutyches denies even general human nature--no genuine human nature at all.
2. The heresy attacked and defended:
 - a. The line-up--
 - 1) Dioscurus, Cyril's successor at Alexandria, supports Eutyches, Constantinopolitan monk, to weaken Constant.
 - 2) Flavian, bp of Const., supported by Antioch, tries to depose the monk.
 - 3) Leo the Great, bp. of Rome, appealed to by both sides, supports Antiochan Christology vs. Eutyches, but states it in Western, not Eastern formulae.
 - b. Leo's doctrinal letter:
 - a) Christ is 2 natures in 1 person (after Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine)
 - b) Before incarnation, only 1 divine nature (Eut. posited 2)
 - c) After incarnation, 2 natures in inseparable union, yet not confused or intermingled, (~~Cyril's original doctrine~~). Humanity is genuine (vs. Eut.)
 - c. Robber synod of Ephesus, 449, gives Dioscurus and Eutyches victory.
3. The heresy condemned, Chalcedon, 451.
 - a. Leo refuses to acknowledge Robber Synod; Theodosius dies; Pulcheria calls another council.
 - b. Dioscurus abandoned, though he stood in line of Athanasius, Cyril.
 - 1) "One incarnated nature of the Logos"
 - 2) Agrees that Christ is "of ($\epsilon\kappa$) 2 natures", but refuses to admit he had 2 natures after incarnation, i.e. "in ($\epsilon\upsilon$) 2 natures".
4. The Creed of Chalcedon--permanent Christological formula.
 - a. Its nature: victory for Western Christology--rejected monophysitism of Alexandria (Eutyches, Dioscurus), and even by-passed Cyril's union of 2 natures so complete that properties of 1 can be ascribed to the union in which both natures are found.
 - b. Its formula:
 - 1) Christ was perfect in his deity--consubstantial with the Father.
 - 2) Christ is consubstantial with us in his humanity.
 - 3) He is born of Virgin Mary, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, according to his human nature.
 - 4) The 2 natures exist without confusion, conversion, severance or division.
 - c. But Monophysite controversy continued for 230 years (451-681)
5. Ecclesiastical decrees of the Council of Chalcedon: (blow to Rome)
 - a. Power of bishop of Constantinople increased as New Rome, second to Roman bishop in view of importance of city (nothing said of Peter)
 - b. Foundation thus laid for schism between East and West.
6. The results:
 - a. East tends more and more to Alexandrian emphasis on one divine nature--monophysitic.
 - b. West remains partly Antiochan in its stress (Chalcedon creed) on two natures.

D. Further Monophysite-Monothelite Controversy. 5th Ec. Council, Constantinople, 681

1. Emp. Basiliscus rejects Chalcedon creed, 476. (500 bishops agree)
2. Emp. Zeno seeks compromise with his Henoticon, 482.
 - a. Recognizes creeds of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Cyril's Anathema's.
 - b. Does not rescind Chalcedon, but by-passes it by stressing authority of alternative formulas
 - c. Its very breadth reflects growing diversity of East and West:
 - 1) East--monophysite tendency (Alexandrian emphasis on divine nature)
 - 2) West--diophysite tendency (Antiochan insistence on two natures)
3. Emp. Justinian (succeeds in 527) seeks harmony in church and country.
 - a. Basic policy: unification of church and state,--theocratic, political control of church affairs. But Christian state--closes Plato Academy.
 - b. Problem: to pacify church by maintaining Chalcedon creed for West, yet interpreting it to satisfy Cyrillian monophysites in East.
 - c. Attempts and failures:--all to win back Monophysites.
 - 1) Leontius of Byzantium tries by restating Cyril and Chalcedon.
 - a) Restates Chalcedon in Aristotelian categories.
 - b) Modifies Cyril's phraseology, but recaptures his position.
 - (1) Cyril - 2 natures, but human is non-hypostatic, non-substantial.
Lord's hypostasis was the divine Logos.
 - (2) Leontius - Nature can't be non-hypostatic (accd. Aristot. categor.)
Nature is intra-hypostatic, i.e. one nature may be the hypostasis of another.
Lord's human nature has hypostasis in Logos
 - c) This leaves both Chalcedon and Cyril justified:
 - (1) Chalcedon retains 2 independent natures, yet one hypostasis
 - (2) Cyril retains the hypostasis of Christ as hypostasis of Logos.
 - 2) But Monophysites refuse this formula; divide into rivalry themselves.
 - a) Severians - 2 natures; human nature capable of suffering, corruptible, not-omniscient. But union is unmixed. (Close to Cyril)
 - b) Julianists (J. of Halicarnassus) - thoroughgoing monophysites, denying human nature of Lord capable of suffering. Charge Severians with diophysitism, and are charged with docetism.
 - 3) Fifth Ec. Council, Constantinople (2nd), 553 to satisfy moderate Monoph.
 - a) Condemns the "Three Chapters", Antiochan theologians: Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus's criticism of Cyril, and Ibas of Edessa.
 - b) Makes Chalcedon uninterpretable save in Cyrillic sense.
 - c) Pope Vigilius objects to rough treatment of diophysites, but is subdued under imperial pressure.
 - d) But still fails to win Monophysites.
 - 4) Monothelitism urged as compromise for winning Monophysites:
 - a) Sergius, patr. of Const., --Christ acts by "one theandric energy".
 - 1) Instead of 2 natures, emphasize one active power or energy, both divine and human.
 - 2) Phrase already used by Dionysius the Areopagite, the Christian Neo-Platonist, whose monistic concept pictures transcendent God reaching earth through hierarchical ladder of energies, stresses continuity of spirit, flesh; thinkable and experiencable
 - b) Sophronius of Jerusalem rejects "energy", substitutes monothelitism.
 - 1) Monothelitism (one will in Christ) accepted by Sergius, Pope Honorius, and Emp. Heraclius in his Ekthesis, 638
 - 2) Opposed by Maximus Confessor, Pope John IV in 641, as denying completeness of two natures, ignoring identity of will and nature in a person.
 - 3) Monophysit provinces lost to Mohammedans, makes Monothelitism politically easier to condemn.
 4. Monothelitism condemned, 6th Ec. Council, Constantinople (3rd), 681
 - a. Pope Agatho carries day for Roman position and Chalcedon Creed.
 - b. Duothelitism essentially merely a logical implication from Chalcedon's diophysitism
 - c. The great problem: how to join infinity with finitude without oblit. latter.

I. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (354-430 AD)

A. His Spiritual Pilgrimage

1. Home: pagan and Christian. Influence of Christian mother dominant.
2. Cicero's Hortensius drives him to philosophy, search for truth. 2 Problems:
 - a. Self-consistent concept of God
 - b. Origin of evil } Baffled by Stoic materialism--if evil is substance, could God have made it?
3. At 19 joins Manichees, impressed by their emphasis on reason.
 - a. Dualism of light and darkness. But M. asceticism keeps Aug. a neophyte.
 - b. After 9 yrs. rebels vs. astrological absurdities, lack of Christ.
4. Studies Aristotle and the Academic skeptics (Platonists)--extreme logic makes certainty impossible, substitutes probability and fashionable doubt.
5. Saved from skepticism by Neo-Platonism (Plotinus):
 - a. Neo-Platonic concept of realm of spiritual being solves his 2 problems:
 - 1) Spiritual concept of God
 - 2) Privative concept of evil, i.e. evil is absence of good.
 - b. Neo-Platonic monism (world of gradations, not chasms) saves him from dualism.
 - c. Porphyry's theories: the key is his doctrine of the soul.
 - 1) Not physical--central characteristic is imagination, makes free of domination of space and time.
 - 2) This makes self-consciousness possible, or, even higher, absorption of soul in object of contemplation.
 - 3) Scale of being: a) The One, b) Mind, c) Soul, d) Body, e) Non-being
 - d. Augustine finds one flaw in Neo-Platonism: it requires moral life but gives no power for morality.
6. Conversion to Christianity: baptized in 387, at age of 33.
 - a. Influence of Ambrose:
 - 1) Impresses Aug. by his strength of character vs. Emperor. Augustine weakly runs away from problems; Ambrose overcomes them.
 - 2) Teaches Aug. to see depth of Scripture and beauty by allegory.
 - b. Influence of Egyptian monks: makes him ashamed of his moral weakness.
7. Critical Problem: was Augustine Christian or Neo-Platonist on conversion?
 - a. Neo-Platonic argument:
 - 1) Confessions written from Catholic view, 13 yrs. later.
 - 2) Early dialogues reveal still a Neo-Platonist--praise of philosophy, no repentance, emphasis on classics, not Scripture.
 - b. Christian answer: (above theory pretty well disproved now)
 - 1) Confessions are colored by apologetic purpose, but historically valid.
 - 2) Even in early dialogues Christianity breaks through classic pattern: tears, praise of Monica, hints at conversion.

B. Augustine's Works

1. Early Dialogues (13) - Christianized Neo-Platonism. Augustine fastens on similarities of both, ignores differences. (386-91)
2. Polemical works:
 - a. Against the Manichaeans (389) - stresses freedom and responsibility of the personal will, against Manichee mechanism.
 - b. Against the Arians, On the Trinity () - forges single-handed the traditional arguments without help from Eastern theologians who had developed the doctrine.
 - c. Against the Donatists - develops R.C. doctrine of the church, and becomes "father of the inquisition".
 - d. Against the Pelagians - Augustine turns determinist (cf. his position vs. the Manichees), and evangelical (cf. Donatist controversy) insists on predestination, and salvation from God, not priest.
3. De Civitate Dei - historical defense of Christianity. His greatest work.

C. Augustine's Thought

1. Epistemology

- a. Possibility of knowledge: Academics inconsistent in denying it, and substituting probability for certainty in knowledge, for to have even probability there must be a standard which is known accurately.
- b. Objects of knowledge:
 - 1) Pure forms--numbers and their relations.
 - 2) One's own soul. If I doubt, I judge myself to be doubtful, and it is plain I am here, even if I doubt my own existence. ∴ my existence is sure.
 - 3) God
 - a) There are three conditions of knowledge: (1) organ of knowledge, (2) object to be known, and (3) a medium thru which the two make contact, as visible things are made known thru light. But as in using light we cannot avoid its source, the sun; even so in knowledge, the source of intellectual light (the medium) cannot be avoided. I know that which is imperfect... I know that by which I make that judgment, i.e. a standard of knowledge ultimately grounded in being-as-it-is, i.e. God. ∴ I know God
 - b) I know God as the supreme ground of Good and existence. There are gradations of good and existence. Whatever good anything has it has by participation in the principle of Good. Whatever exists exists by grounding in something more ultimate. This implies a being itself the supreme or necessary being grounded in nothing outside itself. That is the Good, or God--and in it the source of worth and the source of knowledge is the same. For the soul is better than body; yet soul knows there's something superior to it, intelligible and superior. It must be the ground of intelligibility, i.e. God. (This is argument from grades of existence.)
- c. Knowledge is the gift of God's grace. By the gift of light my mind can know, what at first we only recognize by inference. (This doctrine developed into Illuminism of Middle Ages)
- d. Relation of knowledge to faith: Knowledge is grounded in faith.
 - 1) Faith is the condition of knowledge. Reason can demonstrate God to the mind, but Faith must first purify the soul, Hope must guard it from despair of success, and Love must instill in it the desire to see God (Sol. VI.12) Faith is the eye; Hope opens the eye, Love sees.
 - 2) Faith is the active seeking of knowledge.
 - 3) Commitment in faith (i.e. acceptance of certain ideas) is necessary to membership in Church; and membership in Church, says Aug. in a curious passage, is necessary to knowledge.
 - 4) But even when Reason is purified by faith, it needs divine help, Grace.
- e. Knowledge leads to love, and love is the ground of knowledge.
 - 1) When we finally see, faith and hope are forgotten, but love remains.
 - 2) Love is the soul's basic disposition; its direction is determined by what it loves most. Only if the soul loves God can it know truth, for God is the ground of truth. Love of God is free act of will, determined only by inner disposition of the soul, not environment.

2. Doctrine of God.

- a. Definition:
 - 1) God is the supreme and indispensable ground of being and knowing and loving, by virtue of which all existences and all goods exist. (Like Plotinus, save that Pl. God is beyond Being, not Being itself). God is the alone source of good.
 - 2) God is the almighty Will, which controls and ordains all.

b. The Trinity:

- 1) Equality - the Son is not inferior, but is the power of God manifest in space and time. He is sent by the Father, but not as servant, rather to manifest in time what wasn't in time.
- 2) Communication idiomatum - Three in One, which is fully present in all three. What is said of each, can be said of others, or all 3. Only difference: 1 is the Father, 1 the Son, 1 the Spirit.
- 3) This cannot be demonstrated by reason, yet is not contrary to reason, so can be illustrated by good analogies:
 - a) Remembering: Memory, Image, Attention all make 1 Memory.
 - b) Seeing: Eye, Light and Object--all one.
 - c) Mind: Memory, Understanding, Will--all one mind, and each is the mind as a whole. Mind wouldn't be mind without any of them.
 - d) Self-consciousness: I know myself, and I is subject, object and knowing. Each same as others re content; each stands to each of others in fixed relation

(This is virtually Sabellian, say Loofs, Seeberg, Harnack. Aug. denies it; but is at least in Monarchian category)

- 4) Only in mystical experience does dogma of Trinity come to expression
 - a) Aug. grounds mysticism in love, Plotinus in reason.

3. Doctrine of the World

- a. God creates discontinuous world of non-being. It exists contingently upon God. (Here Aug. leaves Plotinus, who had emanating, not created world)
 - 1) Creation from absolutely nothing but will of God.
 - 2) "Non-being", not "nothing". Becoming is change--what was not, comes to be, and what was comes not to be. ∴ world is characterized by non-being, since it is always becoming. Non-being is not a kind of stuff, but a characteristic of process.
- b. Yet the world is good.
 - 1) It is maintained by God's power, tho it is subject to corruption and decline back to non-being.
 - 2) It contains no positive evil, but neither is it necessarily permanently good. Can lapse.
 - 3) Universe is ordered in levels of existence. Higher good equals higher existence. Man occupies strategic center in created world.
- c. Time.
 - 1) Time is not process as such, but a form of process; not motion, but a characteristic of motion. A segment, not just a moving point.
 - 2) Time can be known only subjectively, in the mind. Memory is the past; imagination is the future, apprehension is the present
 - 3) God apprehends the total time span. He sees things together, not just in transit. ~~God is changeless.~~ q. Mozart's flash-grasp of whole major work.

4. Doctrine of Evil.

- a. Evil is rooted in the will. Angels and men have freedom to affirm or deny God.
 - 1) Angels and men fell, asserted self, instead of God.
 - 2) To fall below, or aspire above one's own grade of existence is evil. To be like pig is evil; to try to usurp divinity is evil.
- b. Evil is the tendency of all created things to lapse back into non-being.
 - 1) This is due to absence of divine power which alone sustains in existence.
 - 2) Why does God allow this lapse--answered by Stoic conception of beauty of universe consists in harmony of opposites. Both evil, good necessary.
 - 3) God can prevent sin, but does not always choose to do so in interests of larger good.
 - 4) Yet God is never the author of evil--for evil is privative in character.

- c. Results of sin:
 - 1) Ignorance - for God is truth
 - 2) Insatiable cravings and lust - for only God can satisfy
 - 3) Loss of being, falling in scale of existence. This can be lost by the creature, but only the Creator can give access of being.
 - 4) Loss of the power not to sin, but retention of the power to sin. Man is still able to do what he will, but what he wills is wrong.
 - d. Transmission of original sin.
 - 1) We were all in Adam, so we all inherit what came to him, i.e. (
 - a) Judgment
 - b) Penalty - death of body, torment of soul.
 - 2) Adam chose evil, resulted in evil nature. We inherit evil nature, so choose evil. Reversal of process.
 - 3) For this man is himself responsible. He willed it; deserves nothing else.
5. Redemption.
- a. By God alone, through incarnation of the Word, not thru man's merit.
 - b. Redemption only of the predestinate:
 - 1) Salvation granted only to definite number of men required to recruit ranks of angels. Single predestination.
 - 2) Not unjust - God is leaving bulk of men to follow their own choices, gives an unmerited gift to the elect. Not inflicting injustice on any, but giving free life to some.
 - 3) Augustine later grows more rigorous. Teaches double predestination.
 - 4) Augustine's religious predestination is set in context of metaphysical determinism: Will of God is source of every event that transpires.
 - c. By grace.
 - 1) Grace is the free, saving and creative power of God. It's a gift, unmerited
 - 2) Grace is irresistible--just as man can't move towards God, so he can't prevent God's remaking him.
 - d. Results of redemption:
 - 1) Turns man's love from the finite to God.
 - 2) Good works naturally follow this re-orientation. Ama et fac quid vellis.

C. The Pelagian Controversy.

- 1. Pelagius and Pelagianism:
 - a. Pelagius, British monk, ethically vigorous, healthy-minded once-born Christian
 - b. Doctrinal emphases: his interest in morals prompts him to safeguard human ability and responsibility, and God's justice.
 - 1) Denies original sin:
 - a) Adam's fall affects us only as a bad example
 - b) Man's will remains free; its freedom is never lost nor diminished.
 - 2) Denies human inability: man can live without sin, but few have done so.
 - a) God would not command the impossible; it would be unjust.
 - b) "Again it is to be inquired whether a man ought to be sinless. Without doubt he ought. If he ought he can; if he cannot he ought not. And if a man ought not to be sinless then he ought to be sinful, and that will not be sin which it is admitted he ought to do!" - Coelestius
 - 3) Denies irresistible grace and election:
 - a) Grace is only: (1) the gift of free will, freedom to choose God.
(2) the gift of Jesus Christ as a shining example.
(3) the laws of ethics, and nature
 - c. Pelagian exegesis of Pauline passages to contrary (Pelagius, Commentaries.
 - 1) Romans 7:15f. - This conflict of desires does not paint sin as inescapable, but as a bad habit. "If I'm accustomed to swearing, I do it even if I no longer wish to.
 - 2) Romans 7:22f. - The conflict between the "law of my mind", and the "law of my members" indicates that the will is still uncorrupted, though surrounded by the corrupted body with its vicious habits.
 - d. Pelagius's three supporters: Coelestius (lawyer), John, Bp. of Jerusalem, and Julian, bp. of Eclanum (principal theologian of the movement).

2. Pelagius attacked:
 - a. By Augustine:
 - 1) Pelagius makes grace unnecessary, reduces it to a catalytic agent.
 - 2) Pelagius regards acts as relatively external to the willing agent, whereas Augustine says man acts as unified whole and the will is vitally related to the act. Sinful acts involve a sinful will. (Warfld)
 - b. By Jerome:
 - 1) Pelagi^{us} is Pythagorean and Stoic (not far wrong, says Calhoun, tho P. rejects reincarnation of soul, and human soul as part of universal soul)
 - 2) Pelagius says that will can break habit, but fails to point out what can make the will want to break a habit.
3. The Semi-Pelagians (Massilianism).
 - a. Originated with theologians of Southern Gaul: John Cassian, Vincent of Lerins, Hilary of Arles, Faustus of Riez and Gennadius of Marseilles.
 - b. Agree with Augustine on:
 - 1) Original sin inherited from Adam
 - 2) Without prevenient grace man can't do good. Grace is not to make easier, but to make possible.
 - c. But disagree with Augustine: (warn against him as innovator)
 - 1) Man has some part in his salvation; it's not entirely of God.
 - 2) Grace is not irresistible; it's prevenient, but man can resist it.
 - 3) No unconditional predestination.
4. Augustine attacks Semi-Pelagianism:
 - a. Double predestination: Whatever happens is God's doings--both salvation and damnation. He serves his own glory even thru sinful acts of sinners.
 - b. Perseverance of the saints: can't lapse from salvation, though particular sins are still committed through concupiscence which remains even after salvation.
- D. Second Council of Orange (529) settles the Pelagian controversy. Semi-Augustinian.
 1. Augustine died in 430; church swings first toward Pelagianism (Councils of Arles and Lyons, 473), then back to Augustinianism under Caesarius of Arles.
 2. General position of the council is Semi-Augustinian:
 - a. Augustinian doctrines:--
 - 1) Adam's sin is transmitted to his descendants. Original sin.
 - 2) Grace - prevenient, unmerited grace precedes faith and salvation
 - b. Non-Augustinian elements:--
 - 1) Silent on irresistibility of grace, and unconditional predestination.
 - 2) Man's inability, inherited from Adam, is only weakness of will, not total incapacity. Grace strengthens what is already there, does not supply what is altogether lacking.

D. The Donatist Controversy, and Augustine's Doctrine of the Church.

1. The line-up and background: differences as to what was the holiness of church.
 - a. Rome (Callistus, 210) - holiness is custodianship of the sacraments.
 - b. Africa (Cyprian, 250) - holiness is proper episcopal leadership.
 - c. Sectaries (Novatian, Donatus) - holiness is ethical purity.
 - 1) Novatian - the church's membership must be pure.
 - 2) Donatists - the church's clergy must be pure.
2. Historical background:
 - a. Hippolytus vs. Callistus in 210 A.D.
 - 1) Callistus accused by Hippolytus for admitting adulterers, murderers.
 - 2) Callistus replies: a) Church is ark for clean and unclean; church is not heaven, but heaven-bound vehicle.
b) Church's holiness is sacramental, not ethical.
 - b. Felicissimus vs. Cyprian } in Decian persecution, 250 A.D.
Novatian vs. Cornelius }
 - 1) Confessors (sufferers) demand restoration of lapsi.
 - 2) Cyprian, rigorist, demands lapsi submit to approval of bishops, not merely lay approval, thus preserving church's holiness by proper episcopal supervision
 - 3) Novatian even more extreme, refuses readmission of lapsi altogether, demands ethical purity of entire church membership.
3. Rise of the Donatists
 - a. Caecilian, lax in treatment of lapsi in Diocletian persecution, 303, elected bishop.
 - b. Rigorists claim his ordination invalid, since by traditores (those who had given books to be burned); form schismatic church. Donatus, bishop.
4. Augustine vs. Donatists on doctrinal issues: (the Catholic Augustine)
 - a. The sacraments in relation to worthiness of the clergy:
 - 1) Donatists - efficacy of sacrament depends on ethical character of the officiating priest. ∴ they reject Catholic sacraments
 - 2) Augustine - the efficacy of the sacrament depends only on God, not on human merit.
 - b. Church and State:
 - 1) Donatists - complete separation of church and state.
 - 2) Augustine - state's duty to support church. ∴ encourages civil suppression of rioting Donatists.
 - c. Augustine's doctrine of the Church:
 - 1) Unity
 - 2) Catholicity - Donatists are provincial, Catholics ecumenical.
 - 3) Apostolicity - Donatists not of Apostolic origin, for not in communion with Apostolic Rome, tho they do have apostolic doctrine and Scripture.
 - 4) Holiness - not every member sanctified, but instituted by God to sanctify its members.

E. De Civitate Dei (412-426)

Introduction:

- 1) Occasion for writing: invasion of Rome shakes Christian concept of the foundation of the state.
 - a) Pagans said state's stability depended on (1) character of rule
(2) fortune
 - b) Christian Emperors saw Will of God as foundation of state.
 - c) Barbarian breakthrough in 410 brings clamor for return to pagan concept. Augustine writes De Civ. Dei to counteract this.
- 2) Source: Aug. borrows the concept of the two cities from Tyconius, a Donatist.
 - a) Tyconius - City of Devil is civilized culture; no intermingling of the two cities.
 - b) Augustine - not anti-cultural; asserts the two cities now hopelessly intermingled.

1. Loss of old gods has not brought Rome's fall; for old gods never gave Rome strength, virtue, nor assurance of happiness
2. Great theory of history: the two cities (Cain, Abel; Rome, Church; World, God)

1) Definition of civitas:

- a) A commonwealth constituted by common interests of people in it.
- b) Assemblage of people who love the same thing together - its character depends on the object of their love (either good or bad)

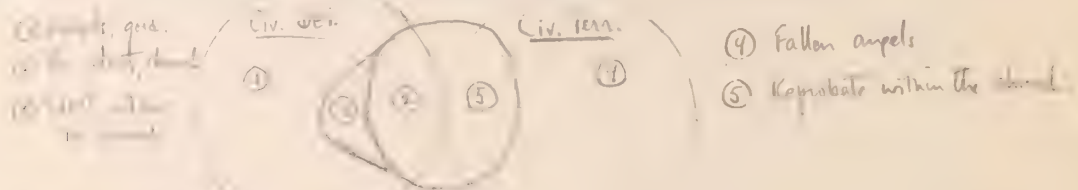
2) The two cities contrasted:

- a) Civ. Dei loves God; civitas terrena loves finite goods.
- b) Civ. Dei seeks peace in subjection to God maintained by cooperation and love; civ. terrena seeks peace in respect to earthly goods maintained by force.

3) Yet even the civitas terrena (the State) is a relative good.

- a) Peace and civil order are maintained by it.
- b) Temporal goods are evil only if considered ultimate; good if considered under the domination of God. State which seeks power as the ultimate end falls like Assyria and Babylon.

4) The two cities form a perpetual contrast in history:



5) World history in 6 great ages:

- a) Five already past (Adam, Noah, Abraham, etc.)
- b) 6th Age now present--Millennial age of conflict, with Civ. Dei (Church) rising supreme as Civ. Terrena (Rome) declines.
 - (1) Note emphasis on supremacy of church over state--this is the foundation of later papal claims.
 - (2) At end of present age, resurrection and judgment:
 - (a) Elect - take places beside angels, perfect peace.
 - (b) Damned - souls die, but bodies suffer eternal torment.

II. GREGORY THE GREAT (540-604)

1. General character:

- a. Great administrator and statesman, not theologian. Associated order in society with church, in minds of people.
- b. General theological position:
 - 1) Considered himself Augustinian, but was really Semi-Augustinian, not grasping Augustine's philosophical and moral subtleties.
 - 2) Basic theology--the five ecumenical Councils (Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, 2nd Constantinople), which are as authoritative as the four gospels.

2. Theology.

- a. God - triune. Ultimate being, and source of all good. Nicaean phrases.
- b. Jesus Christ.
 - 1) Emphasis on deity. His mind and spirit human only by concession, more apparently human than real. A divine being veiled, but not fully concealed by humanity.
 - 2) Could suffer only because he chose to. Then what of temptation?
 - 3) Temptation involves three steps: (a) stimulus, (b) pleasure, and (c) consent. Jesus received the stimulus, but went no farther.
- c. Redemption. (This means:--)
 - 1) Release from the power of the devil.
 - a) Follows Origen and Gregory of Nyssa--divine strategy fools devil.
 - b) Christ's humanity used as bait; deity was hook which overcame devil.
 - 2) Release from wrath of God. Christ's sacrifice satisfies divine demand for punishment of man's sin.
 - 3) Release from sin.
 - a) By the illumination of Christ's teaching and example.
 - b) By Christ's mystical indwelling in the believer.
- d. Human Nature and Grace (Semi-Augustinian)
 - 1) Man's inability is weakness, not total incapacity.
 - 2) Grace is two-fold:
 - a) Prevenient power of God initiating faith and salvation.
 - b) Subsequent cooperation by man, indispensable (Augustine would deny that this is part of grace, but rather the expression of it)

3. Ecclesiology (Doctrine of Church and Means of Grace)

- a. The four marks of the Church:
 - 1) Unity - in faith and love.
 - 2) Holiness - in principle and tendency, even when membership is reprobate.
 - a) Makes saints of sinners
 - b) Favorable atmosphere to development of holiness
 - c) Ultimate complete holiness after last judgment.
 - 3) Authority (Catholicity) -
 - a) Authoritative interpreter of Scripture.
 - b) Custodian of authoritative tradition, thru the Councils.
 - c) Church appeals to civil power to discipline wrong-doers.
 - 4) Apostolicity - supremacy of Rome, authority of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, but not Constantinople. But recognizes local election of bishops.
- b. The Sacraments (the means of grace, of which the church is custodian)
 - 1) Only two spoken of as sacraments by Gregory: Baptism and Eucharist.
 - a) Baptism: (1) Negative--cleansing of original and actual sins.
(2) Positive--inducing response with infused grace.
 - b) Eucharist: (1) Communion with God.
(2) Sacrifice, repeatedly offered to God.
 - 2) Operation of means of grace associated with penance, i.e. application of church's discipline to those guilty of grave sins.
 - a) Problem: how to adjust discipline to make it means of remaking the sinners' lives. Usually too severe, or too lax:
 - (1) If too severe, usually omitted, and many decent people excluded from church.
 - (2) If too lenient, priests slide over even grave offenses.

- b) Development of penance before Augustine:
 - (1) Penance prescribed for minor, as well as for major sins. This carried over from monasteries, applied to laity.
 - (2) Private penance substituted for public confession. Makes penance easier.
- c) Gregory's theory:
 - (1) Penance must be corrective, not punitive.
 - (2) Aim of penance is to recover healthy standing in community.
- 3) Purgatory - continuation in next life of corrective period on earth.
 - a) Gregory authorizes purgatory belief which had become popular.
 - b) Sacrifice of the mass benefits both the living and the dead until the last judgment.
- 4) Demonology - Gregory recognizes superstitious belief in devil's tricks.

III. FROM GREGORY TO THE RENAISSANCE (600-1050)

A. General Survey:

1. Gregory stereotyped theology in the church in Augustinian patterns.
Only one lonely original thinker appeared from 600 to 1050, John Scotus Erigena.
2. Pattern of church history:
 - a. Darkness of dark ages (604-804) - invasion, weak Merovingians.
 - b. Twilight of the Carolingians - Charlemagne restores order.
 - 1) Ecclesiastical and ethical reforms - uniformity of liturgy. (Gregorian)
 - 2) Charles the Bold, son, patronizes Erigena
 - c. Renaissance - begins in Church with Anselm.
3. Major problems of this period of transition:
 - a. Relation of church to secular society.
 - b. Eucharist
 - c. Penance
 - d. Nominalism and Realism - question of universals.

B. The Relation of the Church to Secular Society.

1. Two concepts:
 - a. Germanic - sacred subordinate to secular. Religion is a community function; its purpose to assure morale and unity. Result: lay investiture
 - b. Roman - will not tolerate secular control of religion, which is of divine origin.
2. Documents of the Struggle between Church and State (8th, 9th c.)
 - a. Donations of Constantine, 754.
 - 1) Alleged donation by Constantine to Pope Sylvester (ca. 317) of sovereignty of Western Empire, i.e. "Rome and Italy", in return for baptismal cure from leprosy.
 - 2) Appeared in 757-767 to bolster Pope Paul's I claim of temporal power in relation to Franks and Eastern Empire.
 - 3) Not exposed as forgery until 1433 (Nicholas of Cues), 1440 (Lorenzo Val)
 - b. Decretals of Isidore, ca. 850.
 - 1) Alleged collection of papal and conciliar decisions from 1st to 8th c. containing both true and false decrees, including Donation of Const.
 - 2) Object: (a) To strengthen papacy's temporal power. Thus used by Pope Nicholas I.
 - (b) To strengthen papacy and bishops vs. archbishops. Hincmar, metropolitan of France, threatens power of pope.
 - 3) Claims; (a) immunity of bishop from military service, civil courts
(b) right of direct appeal of regular bishops to pope.

C. JOHN SCOTUS ERIUGENA (ca. 850)

1. Life and Works:

- a) He had two great advantages:
 - 1) An Irish education gave him Greek, acquainted him with Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor.
 - 2) The favor of Charles the Bold preserved him from heresy charges.
- b) Controversy with Gottschalk on predestination.
 - 1) Gottschalk imbibes extreme Augustinianism: (a) double predestination, (b) salvation depends wholly on God, not human agency.
 - 2) Opposed by Rabanus Maurus and Hincmar, who ask Eriugena's help.
 - 3) Eriugena rejects predestination of evil as involving before-and-after relation in God. But this doesn't help Hincmar's fore-knowledge view either. They drop Eriugena.
- c) General theological position: speculative pantheist, or monist.

2. Theology (speculative monism, greatest original thinker of Middle Ages)

- a. Truth:
 - 1) Revelation is the highest source of knowledge.
 - 2) Reason and authority are parallel sources of truth; reason needs no support from authority, but authority must have the support of reason.
- b. On the Divisions of Nature: 4 stages of being, from original oneness to end-oneness in God.
 - 1) Creans uncreata (Uncreated but creating) - God, the Beginning.
 - a) God is transcendent, unknowable save by via negativa; he is not even Being, but above Being.
 - b) But God is immanent (Eriugena's fundamental postulate)
 - (1) Outside of God there is nothing; he is in everything as its essence
 - (2) He is Being unlimited and undifferentiated; the world is Being circumscribed and divided.
 - (3) Yet God is above all (distinction within his monism)
 - 2) Creans creata (Created and creating) - world of Ideas, primordial causes.
 - a) Eriugena a realist - these universals exist before the particulars
 - b) The world of Ideas exists in the Logos, the divine Son.
 - c) This is first stage in evolutionary unfolding of the Absolute.
 - 3) Creata non creans (Created but not creating) - spacial-temporal world.
 - a) In beginning world was undifferentiated whole, complete unity.
 - b) Sin brought complexity, difference, sex
 - 4) Non creans uncreata (Uncreated and not creating) - God, the End.
 - a) The All moves from God the Beginning in a grand evolutionary process thru the two stages back to God the End.
 - b) This return to original unity includes all creation, animate and inanimate. Universal salvation.
- c. Evil - privative concept.
 - 1) Evil is unreal, causeless and relative. Non-existent, and happens by spontaneous, uncaused aberration.
 - 2) Evil will be overcome, wholly absorbed in the Good.
 - 3) Evil arises in the fall, when man chose irrational pleasure instead of God.
- d. Salvation - the return of all things back to God, thru the incarnate Logos.
 - 1) Universal - animate and inanimate.
 - 2) Harmony, not loss of individuality.
 - 3) Deification of those who have lived for the highest things; mental suffering for the wicked -- yet all will be with God.
 - 4) Centrality of Christ in salvation: by his incarnation he became a part of the created universe, and by his resurrection he foreshadows the return to God.

D. The Eucharistic Controversy

1. Radbertus Paschasius (800-861), De Corpore et sanguine Domini.
 - a. Priest makes bread and wine the body and blood (beginning of doctrine of transubstantiation, tho not so called yet); but only for believers.
 - b. The elements carry merit to participants, and bring benefit.
 - c. Radbertus is supported by Rabanus Maurus, who distinguishes between presence specialiter of body in bread; and presence naturaliter.
2. Ratramnus refutes Radbertus in book of same title.
 - a. Body and blood only symbolically in the elements.
 - b. No benefit from use of elements without faith.
 - c. Eriugena supports this symbolic interpretation of the sacrament.
3. No decision until controversy renewed by Lanfranc and Berengarius in 11th c.

D. The Question of Universals: Realism vs. Nominalism.

- Introd. (1) Intellectual life is revived by the philosophical problem raised (9th c.) in Boethius' translation of Porphyry's Introd. to Aristotle's Categories.
- (2) No clear approach to problem until 11th c. after mastery of Aristotle's logical method.
- (3) The problem: what is the relation of the universal (e.g. the idea of "animal") to the particular (e.g. the black hog there).
- (4) Eventually five schools develop:
- (a) Extreme Realism - Eriugena
 - (b) Moderate Realism - central scholastic tradition: Anselm, Aquinas
 - (c) Indifferentism
 - (d) Conceptualism
 - (e) Nominalism - Roscellinus

1. The Schools:

- a. Nominalism (e.g. Roscellinus) - the universals are nothing but names, words, labels; only the particulars are real.
- b. Conceptualism - the universal is not only the word "animal" but also the idea "animal" in the mind. However it does not exist outside the mind.
- c. Indifferentism - two types:
 - 1) Aspectus: the universal is the aspect of non-difference that characterizes all animals as animals, that in which they are all alike.
 - 2) Collectio: the universal is not the likeness of the group, but the group itself.
- d. Realism - the universals are more real than the particulars
- e. Extreme Realism (e.g. Eriugena) - identity of universal and particular.
 - 1) The universal (i.e. the archetype in God's mind), the particular (that which is created), and the mind of the observer who recognizes classes of created things--are all identical.
 - 2) This involves extreme monism, like Eriugena's. Most scholastics not willing to go so far--
- f. Moderate Realism (Anselm, Abelard, Aquinas) - distinction betw. universal, partic.
 - 1) Archetype in God's mind, common form in created class, and my idea of that common form are not identical, but three modes, one reflecting the other.
 - 2) This is the central Scholastic tradition, defined by Abelard, developed by Thomas Aquinas--critical realism.

2. Theological Implications of Moderate Realism.

- a. The Trinity - substratum that is one can be shared by three personae, not separate, but all participating in one undivided deity. (3 modes of universals)
- b. Sin - mankind is not an atomized multitude of individuals, but an archetype--therefore if mankind is corrupted, all particular men are corrupted also.
- c. Salvation - all believers participate in healed humanity, and share one life.

3. Roscellinus' Nominalism is condemned; he is charged with tri-theism.

("How can he who does not yet understand that many men are in species one man comprehend how in that most lofty and mysterious nature, a plurality of persons, each of whom singly is perfect God, are one God?" - Anselm, De Fide Trinitatis, 2)

IV. THE RENAISSANCE

A. ANSELM OF CANTERBURY (1033-1109)

- Introd.
- 1) High churchman, papist vs. nationalism of Henry I of England
 - 2) Keen dialectician, profound but not so original as Augustine
 - 3) Father of Scholasticism--primary interest, intellectual demonstration of the truths of the church.

A. Basic principle: Credo ut intelligam (after Augustine). Believe by faith, but belief is rational and demonstrable. ∴ seeks to prove two great dogmas: the existence of God, and the atonement.

B. The Existence of God.

- a. Underlying axioms:
 - (1) Things are unequal in perfection.
 - (2) Perfection is derived from participation in absolute perfection (realism).
- b. The Cosmological Argument (Monologium)
 - 1) Platonic and Augustinian form:
 - a) There must be a source of goodness, for goodness is the degree of participation in the Idea of Goodness.
 - b) The supreme good (summum bonum) is that of which we may say "Better that it be than that it should not be" -- not gold, for better that it be man, etc.
 - c) This supreme good, and source of good is God.
 - (1) Existence--necessary in supreme good.
 - (2) Power--necessary in supreme good.
 - 2) Causative form:
 - a) Everything that is has a cause.
 - b) If there are many causes, there are 3 alternatives:
 - (1) May be reduced to one cause--result: God.
 - (2) Or they are self-existent--result: then the Idea of self-existence common to each is God.
 - (3) Or they are mutually causative--result: impossible, for an object cannot exist by virtue of another which it causes to exist.
- c. Attributes of God deducible from his existence.
 - 1) Only positive, absolute predications can be made of God, not comparisons.
 - a) He is simple and indivisible.
 - b) He is justice, (not merely just), wisdom and power.
 - c) He is omnipresent, yet in no place, rather all space depends on him.
 - 2) Trinity.
 - a) Relation of the Godhead: Three persons are One God, as three men are Man; yet the three persons are not centers of consciousness, rather an inner complexity continually affirming itself out of unity. Each is singly perfect God, yet the three are one God.
 - b) Persons of the Godhead:
 - (1) Son - the self-expression of the Father. The divine Word who created all things.
 - (2) Holy Spirit - the love which binds together Father and Son, existing as an active and concrete being.
- d. The Ontological Argument (Proslogium)
 - 1) The argument stated: God exists,--a concept to deny which is contradiction.
 - a) God is that than which nothing greater can be conceived.
 - b) He exists in the understanding.
 - c) ∴ He must exist in reality - or the greater is less, for real existence is greater than existence in the mind.
 - d) ∴ He cannot be conceived not to exist.
 - 2) As restated by Des Cartes:
 - (a) God has all perfections
 - (b) Existence is a perfection
 - (c) ∴ God exists.

- 3) The ground for this argument is the Neo-Platonic tendency to equate being and truth, so that what is true for reason is true for being.
- 4) Criticism of the argument.
 - a) Argument is true if we admit existence as a perfection.
 - b) But if (with Kant, Aquinas) we say existence is not tied to value or perfection, it is inconclusive:--
 - c) Kant's attack on the argument.
 - 1) There are two types of predicates:
 - a) Analytic, e.g. all triangles have three angles. This proves not that triangle exists, but if it exists it has three angles. Predicate adds no significance to subject.
 - b) Synthetic, e.g. the table is brown. Predicate adds significance; suppression of subject involves suppression of predicate.
 - 2) God exists is an analytical proposition, for real existence is not a predicate to be added in thought to the conception of a possible subject. Existence is not a synthetic predicate that adds significance, e.g. there is no more dollars in a possible \$100 than in a real, existent \$100.

3. The Atonement (Cur Deus Homo?)

- a. The argument stated: God had to become Man, because--
 - 1) All men share the guilt and sin of Adam--inherited taint of will.
 - 2) Sin withholds from God his due--it robs and dishonours him.
 - 3) Justice demands either satisfaction (repayment) or punishment of guilty.
 - 4) Punishment is impossible:
 - a) Punishment of all men would defeat God's purpose in creation, i.e. that man should be eternally happy in enjoyment of God.
 - b) ∴ at least enough men must be saved to fill place of fallen angels
 - 5) ∴ a way must be found to make adequate satisfaction for man's sin.
 - a) It must be made by man, for he sinned and owes satisfaction to God.
 - b) But man can't do it--he can neither justify himself by perfect obedience, much less justify another sinner.
 - c) Only God is great enough to make adequate satisfaction.
 - 1) The satisfaction must be something not already owed to God.
 - 6) ∴ God became man in Jesus Christ, the God-Man.
 - a) As man he brought the satisfaction to God, and conquered the devil.
 - b) As God he was sinless and perfectly obedient. But this obedience no already owed to God.
 - c) ∴ he laid down his life. Because he was no sinner, death had no claim on him. This was satisfaction enough, unowed, all of grace.
 - 7) By grace, Jesus Christ assigns the merit he has thus won and does not need to whomever he will.
- b. Significance: ended 1000 yr. rule of ransom theory of atonement.
(changed emphasis from life and incarnation (Irenaeus) to death of Christ. (in spite of title)

B. ABELARD (1079-1142)

1. Life:
 - 1) Founder of the scholastic method in theology.
 - 2) Studied Nominalism with Roscellinus, Realism with Wm. of Champeaux, theology with Anselm of Laon.
 - 3) Love affair drives him to monastery--more trouble.
 - 4) Heresy charges by Bernard of Clairveaux--his rationalism seems dangerous to faith. Condemned in 1141.
2. Method:
 - a. Combined two tendencies in tension:--
 - 1) Faith - commitment to the teaching of the church.
 - 2) Logic - devotion to logical methods, Aristotle.
 - b. Invariable this tension resolves in emphasizing one or the other:
 - 1) e.g. Anselm emphasized faith: "Credo ut intelligam" (after Aug.)
 - 2) But Abelard emphasized reason: "Intelligo ut credam"; "By doubting we come to inquiry, by inquiry we discover the truth."
 - c. Method of synthesis (originated in Sic et Non--Hincmar of Rheims, Ivo of Chartres)
 - 1) Scripture and reason are infallible.
 - 2) But the Fathers are fallible. ∴ examine all that they have said on both sides of every question (158 propositions), and correct or affirm them, thus arriving at clear understanding of faith.
 - 3) This method became the accepted Scholastic method, tho at first its rough handling of Fathers aroused fear.
3. Theology:
 - a. Trinity - extreme Augustinian, accused of Sabellianism (1141)
 - 1) God is one absolute Being, which is Perfection.
 - 2) This perfection involves three properties, or distinctions within the indivisible, unitary being of God.
 - a) Power - God unbegotten
 - b) Wisdom - God begotten
 - c) Love - proceeding from them--properties of one substance which is characterized by each. Neither aspects or individual--hard to say what. Distinctions.
 - b. God's relation to the world:
 - 1) God's existence necessary as ground of universe's existence.
 - 2) Ethical emphasis - God is the ground of justice, necessarily exists beyond world, for there's no justice here.
 - 3) Essences of created beings are Ideas in God's mind. (Realism)
 - c. Sin: only the intention to sin, not the outward act. ∴ Can be wiped out merely by repentance. Only inner change, not outer satisfaction necessary.
 - d. Atonement (Moral Influence theory)
 - 1) Rejects: (a) Ransom theory.
(b) Satisfaction theory of Anselm.
 - 2) Abelard's theory: (stresses subjective side of atonement)
 - a) Man, not God, requires to be changed to atone for sin.
 - b) ∴ Christ comes to make man sorry for sin by revealing its horror and the love of God. Changes man--atonement by regeneration.
 - 3) Criticisms:
 - a) Contemporaries criticized it as not false but inadequate--God and devil must also be dealt with, not just man.
 - b) Inadequate concept of sin is basically its fault--sin is more than intention (Loetscher)
 - c) But Abelard's theory is not rightly called the Moral Influence theory, for he insisted on internal regeneration, not mere external prompting. That name applies more directly to the development of his theory by evangelical pietists, and rational liberal Protestants later.

C. PETER THE LOMBARD (ca. 1160)

1. His Sentences was the most famous theological compendium of the time.
2. Four Books: (a) God, (b) Created world, (c) Jesus Christ (follows Abelard in theory of atonement) (d) Sacraments as means of grace; and Eschatology

D. PANTHEISTIC TENDENCY. (BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX (1090-1153), HUGO of ST VICTOR (ca. 1130)

1. Both Bernard and Hugo react against Abelard's rationalism, turn mystic.

F. THOMAS AQUINAS (1224-1274)

1. Works and Purpose:

- a. Works: Commentaries on Aristotle
Commentaries on Dionysius the Areopagite
Summa theologica
Summa contra gentiles
- b. General structure of theological presentation: (1) From God, (2) To God, (3) Through Christ.
- c. Purpose: to synthesize Aristotelian philosophy with Christian theology.
 - (1) Up to 12th c. Christians had only Aristotle's logic.
 - (2) 12th and 13th C. brought in Aristotelian physics and metaphysics through Averroes.
 - (3) Christian reaction: 1210 Aristotle forbidden; 1215 Aristotle recognized by pope; 1366 Aristotle required.

2. Epistemology.

- a. Adopted Aristotelian epistemology, rejected Platonic:
 - 1) Aristotle - all human knowledge comes through the senses alone, and is the result either mediate or immediate of sensible experience.
 - 2) Plato - knowledge of unseen realities possible apart from individual things, e.g. man's faculty of direct vision of spiritual things.
- b. But this made a problem: if knowledge is sensory, how can we know God?
- c. Aquinas answers this by making two sharp distinctions:
 - 1) Between philosophy and theology (revelation).
 - a) Philosophy begins with the creature and ascends to God; based exclusively on reason, i.e. sense-experience and deductions from it.
 - b) Theology begins with God and descends to the creature; based exclusively on revelation.
 - c) Philosophy is more liable to error; but revelation is liable to misinterpretation.
 - d) The task of philosophy: (1) To defend theology.
(2) Not all truth is demonstrable, but the proveable should be proved; understanding better > belief
 - 2) Between the conditions of knowledge in this life and the next.
 - a) In this life knowledge is indirect only--thru demonstration or faith.
 - b) But in the next life knowledge shall be by direct vision of God. (Not a real mystic, for his mysticism is placed beyond this life)

3. Doctrine of God.

- a. His chief advance: God is more than Essence (ancient), more than a thinking Spirit (Anselm), He is a thinking and willing Being.
- b. Proofs of God's existence (this is not self-evident truth, no direct knowledge).
 - 1) Arguments from effect to cause: from motion to unmoved mover (Aristotle).
: from existing things to first cause of existence
 - 2) Arguments from beings of various degrees of perfection to a Supreme Being who is absolutely perfect.
 - 3) Arguments from order in the universe to an intelligent governor.
- c. Positive attributes of God.
 - 1) Effects are like their cause, ∴ we may ascribe to God all the perfections seen in his creation, e.g. Intelligence, Will, Goodness.
 - 2) Eternal, for there is time only where there is change ∴ Unmoved Mover must transcend time.
 - 3) Necessary, not contingent; for contingency leads only to infinite regress.
 - 4) Simple, incorporeal, One - for eternal and necessary being must be pure actuality.
- d. As first Cause, he is cause of the World:
 - 1) Creation ex nihilo, involving no change in Himself.
 - 2) All details of the created world are Ideas in the Mind of God.
 - 3) Neither the eternal nature of the world, nor that it is temporal can be proved. Open question. But he rejects eternity of world, by faith.

- e. God and Evil.
 - 1) God is not the cause of evil
 - 2) Evil is non-existence (privative).
 - f. Predestination (more Augustinian than prevailing Semipelagian of church)
 - 1) Not conditioned on anything actual or foreseen in man.
 - 2) Includes both election and reprobation. (Summa theol. I.23:3)
 - 3) Christian never knows his election, lest he be too secure and lax.
4. Doctrine of Man: the approach of the rational creature to God.
- a. Original state, and fall.
 - 1) Originally man possessed (1) original righteousness, and (2) donum superadditum, i.e. added gift of grace.
 - 2) sin brings loss of the donum superadditum, the original inclination toward good, plus the addition of concupiscence to his original natural endowments.
 - a) Original sin is materially concupiscence.
 - b) " " is formally a defect of original righteousness.
 - b. Grace - absolutely necessary, for self-redemption is impossible.
 - 1) Nature of grace: (1) The gratuitous motion of God.
(2) The effect of this divine act: a new nature, making man capable of good. (Leads to mechanical nature of relig. life)
 - 2) Justification: instantaneous forgiveness of sin by God.
 - a) Object: making man righteous by infused grace.
 - b) Means: by faith alone, i.e. faith informed with love.
 - c) Given freely, not earned.
 - d) But, it is not identical with salvation (as Luther later), for salvation is only granted to him who goes on from justification to good works. This makes the aim of justification not intercourse with God but the making of man capable of performing good works. This makes love and good works, not faith, central to the religious life. (See berg. II.121)
 - 3) Grace becomes, therefore, the source of a meritorious work; merit and grace supplement each other.
- c. Sins.
- 1) Necessity of good works--salvation granted only as reward of good works.
 - 2) Nature of virtue: (1) Emphasis on the inner disposition of the act.
(2) But the nature of the act itself is important (vs. Abelard)
5. The Work of Christ
- a. The incarnation was not necessary (God could have saved in other ways), but was the best way, for it accomplished many other things besides man's salvation.
 - b. The atonement: (combined Anselm's objectiveness and Abelard's subjectiveness)
 - 1) Christ is Redeemer because:
 - a) By his revelation of God and his love he incites us to good, thereby making us capable of securing forgiveness of sin (after Abelard)
 - b) By his death he reconciles God and makes satisfaction to him, thereby securing salvation and immunity from punishment (after Anselm)
 - 2) Benefits of the atonement:
 - a) Forgiveness of sins
 - b) Release from the power of the devil.
 - c) Release from punishment for sins
 - d) Reconciliation with God.
 - e) The opening of heaven's gates.

E. Development of Doctrine (Sacraments and Penance)

1. The Sacraments.

- a. Development of concept of grace in the sacraments.
 - 1) Before 13th c. sacraments considered only signs of an invisible grace.
 - 2) Hugo of St. Victor calls them not only sign, but **containers** of grace.
 - 3) St. Thomas further asserts sacraments are instrumental causes of grace.
- b. Number of sacraments:
 - 1) Great confusion of thought: Abelard 5; Bernard of Clairvaux 10, including feet-washing; Hugo of St. Victor 12, including consecration of churches, kings and monks.
 - 2) Peter the Lombard standardizes the number at 7:
 - a) Baptism
 - b) Eucharist
 - c) Confirmation
 - d) Penance
 - e) Ordination
 - f) Marriage
 - g) Extreme Unction
- c. Effects of the Sacraments:
 - 1) Negative effects of some - cleansing.
 - 2) Some give positive effect - grace and power.
 - 3) Some give both.
 - 4) Three sacraments confer indelible grace: baptism, ordination, confirmation.
- d. Order - baptism may be performed by anyone, even an unbeliever, but all the others depend for efficacy upon the ordination of the ministering priest.

2. The Eucharist. (both communion and sacrifice)

- a. Development of doctrine of transubstantiation. (850-1215)
 - 1) Identification of bread and body challenged by Berengarius, ca. 1054.
 - a) Berengarius insists on "spiritual presence" not real presence, following in tradition of Ratramnus (850)
 - b) He is defeated by Lanfranc, and (reluctantly) Hildebrand, after Radbert.
 - c) Victorians understand doctrine in Aristotelian terms of distinction between substance (body) and accident (bread). The substance of the Lord's body displaces the substance of the bread, but the accident of the bread remains unaltered.
 - 2) Transubstantiation becomes dogma in 1215 (4th Lateran Council, Innocent III).
 - a) The transubstantiation depends not on the faith of the believer (as Radbert taught), but wholly on the act of God.
 - b) Sacrificial aspect stressed--daily offering for daily sins.
- b. Chief note - grace is efficaciously manifested through the sacrament by the priest.

3. Repentance.

- a. Abelard:
 - 1) Contrition of heart brings forgiveness from eternal punishment.
 - 2) But works of satisfaction (e.g. confession) is necessary to release from temporal punishment (earth and purgatory).
- b. Hugo of St. Victor champions hierarchical orthodoxy vs. Abelard.
 - 1) Confession is the chief thing--it presupposes contrition.
 - 2) Repentance is secured only through confession and satisfaction--both needed.
 - 3) Absolution follows immediately on confession, on promise that satisfaction will be made (this opens way for money satisfaction).
- c. Chief additions of the period:
 - 1) Establishes direct connection between confession and priestly absolution.
 - 2) Argues necessity of satisfaction to release from temporal (purgatorial) punishment.

G. DUNS SCOTUS (1265-1308), WILLIAM OF OCCAM (ca. 1349), and BREAK-UP OF SCHOLASTICISM.

1. DUNS SCOTUS

- a. Begins the trend away from Scholasticism. Voluntarism (Scotus) leads to Fideism and Scepticism (Occam).
- 1) Aquinas - disagreement between theology and philosophy is impossible., however inadequate philosophy may be to reach theology's truths.
 - 2) Scotus - much in theology is philosophically improbable, but must be accepted on the authority of the church.
 - 3) Occam - no theological doctrines are philosophically proveable; they are to be accepted simply on authority.
- b. Contrast of Scotus and Aquinas:
- 1) God: Aquinas--God's essence is being; he does what he sees is right.
Scotus--God's essence is arbitrary will; whatever he does is right.
 - 2) Universals: Aquinas--modified realist, but emphasis on universals.
Scotus--modified realist, but emphasis on the particular.
 - 3) Christ's sacrifice: Aquinas--Christ's death was the wisest way of salvation.
Scotus--Christ's death was simply the way God did it--any way he might have chosen would have been just as right.
 - 4) Repentance: Aquinas--attrition, i.e. fear of punishment, plus contrition by infused grace is necessary for salvation.
Scotus--attrition is sufficient; followed by forgiveness; followed by infused grace enabling man to do meritorious works.

2. WILLIAM OF OCCAM

- a. Inadequacy of Reason.
- 1) Reason can't demonstrate the existence of God and the soul, much less therefore any details about them.
 - 2) Reason can give no knowledge of universals--only of particulars, e.g. in nature (physics) and thought (logic), but not in metaphysics and theology.
Occam sees no step from the particular to the universal.
- b. Nominalism--only particulars exist, ∴ no common humanity, no universal church.
- c. Authority for faith lies not in church, therefore, but in Scripture and in church members.
- 1) Scripture--specific revelation by verbal inspiration.
 - 2) Authority in the church rests in the assembly of the individuals, but is delegated to the officers.
 - a. Aquinas: Christ to Peter to Popes.
 - b) Occam : Christ, to believers, delegated to clergy. Therefore the people can veto the actions of the clergy.

H. Other Forces opposed to Scholasticism

1. Summary:

- a. Fideism and Skepticism - Scotus and Occam
- b. Extreme Augustinianism - Wyclif in England, Hus in Bohemia.
- c. Mysticism and Quietism - not outwardly antagonistic, but bred from within. Tauler.
- d. Humanism and the Renaissance.
- e. Technological Development - commerce, economics, manufacturing.

2. John Wycliffe (1320-1384)

a. Practical criticism - spokesman for English nationalism vs. papal claims.

b. Theoretical criticism:

- 1) Individualism - concept of "dominio", each man has a God-given, not church or state-given authority and duty. If civil or ecclesiastical authorities interfere with this divine law they may be replaced.
- 2) Doctrine of church (Augustinian) - the true church is only of the elect. Even the Pope may not be a member.
- 3) Power of priest - he cannot forgive sins - he can only declare the conditions of forgiveness. This is the power of the keys.
- 4) Eucharist - vs. transubstantiation:
 - a) Christ is really, but not corporeally present.
 - b) Bread + wine are only outward signs.

1) Security

1) White

1) Yellow

1) Green

2) Symbols from left to right

2) Upper section 1-2-3

1) Red

2) Symbols from left to right

1)

2)

Study - political economy of world

1. Introduction

- 2) Introduction
- 3) Introduction
- 4) Introduction

1. Introduction

1. Introduction

LUTHER

2. Luther

2. Luther

1) Luther

2) Luther

1) Luther

2. Luther

1) Luther

2) Luther

3) Luther

1) Luther

2) Luther

3) Luther

1) Luther

2) Luther

3) Luther

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT
ALEXANDER ALISON, JR., D.D., MINISTER

March 25, 1943.

Dear Church Member,

We looked through our Church Pledges several times last night for your name but it just wasn't there.

We realize how easy it is these busy days to overlook a matter such as this, but you know how important it is for your church to set up its yearly budget immediately. In order to do this, all pledges must be in by next Sunday. About 60 percent of our pledges are in - that's a fine start, and with your cooperation we can make it 100 percent. Will you do your part? Will you help us go over the top by sending in your pledge right now?

Another pledge card and return envelope is attached for your convenience. The shortage of gasoline makes it necessary that we reduce our follow-up calls to a minimum. Sending your pledge will save your committee a stop. We're depending on this letter for your pledge.

Let's finish the job by next Sunday. If we all work together we can do one of the finest jobs yet.

Your Pledge Committee

P.S. If you have just sent your pledge in and we missed it, we'd like to thank you. In that case disregard this new pledge card.

MARTIN LUTHER.

- A. Sources: mythic works by Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Tauler, St. Victor, Erasmus etc.
- B. Basic convictions:
1. ^{Righteousness} Justice comes from God to men; man can't get it for himself.
 2. Faith on man's part is the key, and the keystone of faith is trust in God.
 3. a. Formerly faith is only assent - assensus.
b. Luther adds personal trust - fiducia.
- C. Content of his belief (no systematic theology)

KIERKEGAARD

(...or, if you want to show you're really in the know theologically, call him "Kerkegor". That's the way they separate the men from the boys in seminary these days. If you say Augustine and Kierkegaard you're amateurs; if you say Augustine and Kerkegor you're a pro. Just remember: Either/Or; Kerkegor--and you have three years worth of theological polish in two minutes)

I say "Kierkegaard" myself, and this is the reverse twist in theological gamesmanship. It's more Kierkegaardian, for whatever those "in the know" were for, Kierkegaard was bound to be against. "Genius, like a thunderstorm, always comes up against the wind", he wrote. And whether you like him or not, Kierkegaard was a genius, the man you have to start with if you want to do any serious reading in twentieth century theology today. Take any of the men on your list--these modern theologians you're studying--from P.T. Forsythe, who calls Kierkegaard "the melancholy Dane in whom Hamlet was mastered by Christ" (The Work of Christ) to Barth and Tillich and Niebuhr, who says that Kierkegaard was "the profoundest interpreter of the psychology of the religious life...since St. Augustine" (Bretall, Anthology, p. xvii)--read them all and you are only walking in the footsteps of Kierkegaard, who compares to the others, as some one has said, like "the sound of a flight of wild birds over the heads of the tame of the species".

All I can do is to try to give you an impression of Kierkegaard as a whole, not a detailed, systematic analysis of his bewilderingly unsystematic writings. I'll do it by concentrating on four pictures of the man and his ~~thought~~ thought as painted in four of his own phrases:

1. There is the picture of his life painted with irony and pathos in a phrase from a dream, "May I always have the laughs on my side" (Diapsalmata, in Either/Or, Hollander, K. p. 37)
2. There is the picture of his philosophy painted with another ironic remark: "It was intelligence and nothing else that had to be opposed. Presumably that is why I, who had the job, was armed with an immense intelligence". (Barrett, Irrational Man, p. 133)
3. There is the picture of his personal religion; painted in the question that is central to everything he ever wrote, "How shall I become a Christian, I, Johannes Climacus, born in this city, thirty years of age, and not in any way different from the ordinary run of men?" (Unscientific Postscript, in Hollander, p. 20)
4. And there is finally the picture of his attack on nominal Christianity, "What says the fire marshal?.... He says, or rather he roars, 'To hell with your buckets and hand-squirts...'"

And if these quotations make you think that Kierkegaard was a little eccentric for a theologian, you are beginning to catch something of the flavour of his wildly improbable life.

I. His Life. Let us begin, then, with the first picture, his life.

"A strange thing happened to me in (a) dream," he writes. "I was rapt into the seventh heaven. There sat all the gods assembled... I was granted the favor to have one wish. "Do you wish for youth," said Mercury, "or for beauty or power or a long life; or do you wish for the most beautiful woman... Choose, but only one thing!" I was at a loss for a moment. Then I said.. "Most honorable contemporaries, I choose one thing--that I may always have the laughs on my side." Then all the gods began to laugh, and K. decided that his wish had been granted, and that the gods had answered in most good taste, for how inappropriate it would have been to answer such a request with the solemn statement, Your wish has been granted. (Diapsalmata, Hollander, p. 37).

It was only a dream.
~~There is pathos in that dream.~~ If ever in this life a tortured soul has had all the laughs going against him, that soul is Kierkegaard. He was born in 1813, inheriting from his parents feeble health, a deformed body (he had a humped back), and such a heavy load of guilt and melancholy as was ~~sure~~ to rob him of his only real chance for human love and normal happiness.

Some people simply dismiss him from serious consideration with the judgment that he was insane, and his father insane before him. They point to his father's conviction that he had committed the unforgiveable sin, the sin against the Holy Ghost when, as a boy tending sheep on the wild moors he had cursed God for the hard life into which he had been born. Later when life became easy, when he had become a rich wool-merchant, his melancholy refused to leave him. If anything it became more intense and his feelings of guilt were all the more sharpened as a result of an illicit love affair with a servant girl. He married the girl, Kierkegaard's mother, but he never lost his sense of guilt, compensating for it by hard, harsh moral discipline in the home in which he brought up his children. It was a home without laughter.

No wonder then, perhaps, that Kierkegaard grew up to be almost as pathological a figure as his father. He discovered his father's guilty secret, and almost committed suicide in his grief. Then he threw off all restraints, and his life was wild and reckless and despairingly gay--until, at the age of 25, came the moment of truth, the existential moment, the great decision. He was converted. ~~He was a~~ "God creates out of nothing--wonderful, you say," he writes in his journal, "yes, to be sure, but he does what is more wonderful: he makes saints out of sinners."

Now to the sentimental Christian, who thinks that conversion is like the end of a fairy story, and that with Jesus one lives happily ever after--it comes as a cruel shock to discover with Kierkegaard that all the laughs, apparently, are not on the side of the saints.

Kierkegaard the Christian falls promptly and completely in love, with a delightfully happy and normal 17-year-old girl; and Kierkegaard the Christian so agonizes away about his own unworthiness, his melancholy, his own sense of calling to a unique and lonely Christian mission, that he decides he cannot marry her. It is a moving and incredible story--it moves some to admiration, some to pity, but frankly it moves me to an active dislike for Kierkegaard the man. Let me read part of what he says of the affair:

"I suffered unspeakably... My melancholy awoke once more.. I cannot decide

II. Philosophy - ^{The picture -} ~~still~~ ^{The reality -} ~~the~~ Next he threw himself into philosophy.

He went to Germany where Hegel was the giant of the day and came back to Copenhagen to deny everything that Hegel was saying. Incredible conceit - and they laughed at him of course. He ^{could apply to copies} Street inquis - Either/Or!

What was so funny about Either/Or. The funny thing was that this little crippled scarecrow's Either/Or was a direct challenge to the Both/And philosophy that was the heart of all Western thinking from Aristotle through Aquinas to Hegel. They all taught that the way to truth was by reason - so you could depend on both faith and reason.

Now up comes the little, tumbled Dane to duel with the giants ^{Either/Or} and he comes out ahead! ~~Not dueling with body, but with mind - and his mind was adequate.~~

An attack on reason. It was only way - Great + massive systems too logical. So attack the foundations Go straight for the popular. Not - wrong because unreasonable, but wrong because too reasonable.

"Lies and novels are plausible" - not life, for with real life comes that which is beyond reason. No reasonable road to God.

Reasonable road to θ ? Rubbish. There is no rational proof of existence. Reason leads only to thought of God as idea "I do not prove that a stone exists, only that some existing thing is a stone."

To God - only faith.

Kierkegaard

(4)

Poor man - the laughs were never on his side. He lived
lonely & alone. No one has ever even seen the inside of his house;
wrote on ~~paper~~^{Scat} who visited Copenhagen: 1852 (Martin, K p. 25)
He wrote philosophy - books which have shaken the whole world of modern
to top & bottom - but in his own lifetime he had to pay heavily to
have them printed, & could sell only a few copies of one of the
most important of them. And even when people read them, they
laughed at him. Street children followed him whistling & jeering. Either-or;
either/or. (~~And when he died, only 42 years old - the laughs were still~~
going against him.] - ~~The laughs were always against him.~~

They didn't know that the ^{crippled} little scarecrow they were following
with his humped back, tangled hair, & his unevenly matched trousers legs -
was engaged in a dramatic intellectual duel with three of the greatest
philosophers who have ever lived - with Aristotle, Aquinas & Hegel -
and that at least half of the 20th century today believes that the little cripple
has come out of the duel better than the giants. He wasn't dueling with
his body, but with his mind, & his mind, as he modestly remarks more than
once, was quite adequate.

Remember this picture, open, of his philosophy: "it was intelligence [Arist.
Aquinas, Hegel] & nothing else that had to be opposed, presumably that is
why I, who had the job, was armed with an immense intelligence."

Kierkegaard's philosophy (existentialism, we call it today) is basically,
therefore an attack on reason. It was the only way he could arm -
the great and massive philosophical systems of Aristotle, Aquinas &

modern world, the positivist, scientific way says "all right - existence cannot be found, so lets stop worrying about the metaphysical, the existential, & concentrate on what can be described & studied. K. took the other road - existence is too rich & deep, existence is life & death, the one truth that gives reality to everything else. I don't study it - I can only live it - & give myself to it completely. This is the religious answer. So the central question - K's "Yes" thought was precisely this - how do I give myself to reality.

③. He puts it this way, you remember. "How shall I become a Son of God, Jesus, born in this city, 30 years of age, & not in any way different from the ordinary run of men."

Not by reason - the	creedal approval -
Not by feeling (aesthetics) -	
Not by ethics	
But by faith - the leap of faith.	

The Balcony - the Road.

There are two easy ways - the speculative way of the philosopher - argue yourself rationally into believing that X is scientifically true (like liberal Protestants - or the Catholics) - but K. has already broken with this approach. No truth is an "offense" to reason simply because its central idea, that God is in time & X is a contradiction, for God is eternal.

The other easy way is the aesthetic - the organized, the sacramental - the way anybody else becomes a Son. You become a Son in order to feel good - there is only one end to the effort to feel good - Despair "Anyone who lives esthetically, whether he knows it or not, is in despair."

You might have been saved in some other way. No answer. Like saying to
one in love -- Preface p. xx.

The case of My - the "natured" must be determined either 1) aesthetic

2) speculative

The necessity of sacrifice - of suffering. The Journals xxvi.

Journal

"The same thing happens to My, or to becoming a deity, as to all
radical cures, one puts it off as long as possible. 1835 (three yrs. before conversion)

"Popanism never gets nearer the truth than Pilate: What is truth? And
with that crucifies it." - 1837.

"People hardly ever make use of the freedom which they have,
for example, freedom of thought, instead they demand freedom of speech as
a compensation." 1838

"God creates out of nothing - wonderful, you say: yes, to be sure,
but he does what is still more wonderful: he makes saints out of sinners." 1838

"It requires more courage to suffer than to act, more courage to
forget than to remember, and perhaps the most wonderful thing about
God is that he can forget man's sins." 1841

"Either/or is the key to heaven... Both - and is the way to hell." p. 19.
He cannot say like Pascal "Stupefy yourself, ~~take~~ holy water, receive the sacraments, and all shall be well"
- Bennett, in Man, p. 25.

Attack

Compunction - "a splendid imitation of one makes a double assumption - that
divine worship is to make a fool out of God; and that its principal aim is
to provide an occasion for family festivities, parties, a jolly evening... with a religious
significance." - 453

Augustine Pascal, letter - the personal Jesus.

Martin - Kierkegaard the Melancholy Dane

Kierkegaard - "the sound of ~~the~~ flight of wild birds over the heads of the
fame of the same species

To appreciate Kierkegaard, 2 fundamental points needed: ① sense of utter guilt before God,
② the conviction that one has no "rights" before God.

P.T. Forsyth - "the melancholy Dane in whom Hamlet was mastered by Christ" (p. 10).

"What human happiness was he never knew" - "

17 - begins study for ministry.

22 - discovers guilty secret of his father's life - begins life of privacy, dissipation. 14

25 - spiritual crisis, helped by father (now 81) - one month before he died.

"I mean to labour to achieve a far more inward relation to Xty; but then I have
fought for its truth while in a sense standing outside it.

27 yrs - engaged to Regine Olsen (ten years younger). Hoped this would cure his melancholy - but
melancholy doomed his love. Melancholy of guilt (father's + his own) - he could not reveal
this to Regine. But R. loved him. He deliberately pretended indifference.

Richard - Corsair

I feel like steamship in which the engine is too powerful for the structure of the
vessel.

"Slight, delicate, weak, denied in almost every respect the physical requirements
in order to be able to pass for a complete man... melancholy, soul-side, profoundly
and absolutely a failure in many ways, one thing was given to me; a pre-
eminent intelligence." (Journal 1335)

Martin - Kirkcubright

1852 - 39 yrs old - begins preparing Attack on Christendom vs. Mystics (By. Primate) of State Church, who had confirmed him at 15. Wise, pious - but everything was wrong. Lived in luxury - head of a church which counted all Deans except Jews as Xus. This was not NT Xty.

① This is exactly opp of NT Xty

② To go to This kind of church is blasphemy ^{vs. God} He isn't everything to Repine, but Dies - his brother, a Bp. in State church preaches sermons, and outcries. Bp. takes over his papers & tries to suppress them.

Hamilton, 1852 - "He is a philosophical & writer, ever more dwelling, one might almost say hanging, on the theme of the human heart" - p. 24 He walks about town all day. Allows no one in his own house. In evening writes & reads.

Lee Hollander - Kierkegaard

On deathbed - "The bomb explodes; the conflagration will follow" 30

He doesn't write like a sed theologian - "that I may have all the laughs on my side" (Diapsalmata) p. 37. But the laughs were against him.

What Says the Fire Marshal? (The Present Moment) "To hell with your buckets and hand-squirts" - For a fire is a very serious business.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem. It is shown that the problem is well-posed and that the solution exists and is unique.

2. In the second part, we consider the case of a linear problem. It is shown that the solution can be expressed in terms of the eigenfunctions of the operator.

3. Finally, we consider the case of a nonlinear problem. It is shown that the solution exists and is unique for small values of the parameter.